

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Buchanan pushes rightist agenda for Republican Party

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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U.S. forces launch new attacks on Somali towns

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As Washington's occupation of southern Somalia nears the end of its second month, the U.S. military unleashed its firepower against forces loyal to ousted Somali dictator Mohamed Siad Barre that were threatening to seize control of the port city of Kismayo.

In the capital city of Mogadishu, where thousands of U.S. troops are deployed, shootings of Somalis have become virtually a daily occurrence as the U.S. military has begun actively organizing a new police force there.

Four U.S. Cobra attack helicopters fired antitank rockets, cannons, and machine guns January 25, as Belgian paratroopers battled forces led by Gen. Mohammed Siad Hersi Morgan — former dictator Siad Barre's son-in-law — for more than an hour on the ground outside of Kismayo.

The Reuters news agency reported 42 Somalis wounded in this attack. Since the start of the invasion, U.S. officials have followed a policy of not releasing any figures on the number of Somalis killed and wounded.

Prior to the U.S.-Belgian assault, Morgan had been accused of violating a UN-brokered cease-fire that had been agreed to January 15 by 14 Somali military and political groups. The U.S. bombardment was welcomed by Col. Omar Jess, whose forces prior to the arrival of U.S. troops in December had established themselves as the predominant military force in this city after massacring more than 100 political opponents.

"Unlike the generally warm reception the foreign soldiers have received in other Somali towns," reported the January 26 *Washington Post*, "the U.S. and Belgian troops in Kismayo have been pelted with rocks and greeted with chants of 'Out, Out!' In mid-January several hundred Kismayo residents staged a protest against the U.S.-led intervention.

U.S. special envoy to Somalia Robert Oakley hailed the Kismayo attack as an example of the type of operation that a U.S. quick-strike force can conduct even after the bulk of U.S. ground troops have withdrawn from Somalia.

In another show of force January 30, 700 U.S. army infantrymen, backed by helicopters, swept into Afgooye, a town of 40,000 people located 45 miles west of Somalia's capital, for a several-day operation with the declared aim of locating and removing weapons. At the end of the evening they had confiscated a total of one weapon — a rusty

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Bosses slash more jobs while hailing recovery

BY PAUL MAILHOT

As the U.S. government released figures in late January on the seventh quarter of economic recovery, Boeing; McDonnell Douglas; Pratt & Whitney; and Sears, Roebuck & Company announced plans to put nearly 100,000 employees out of work.

These huge layoff notices follow similar job cuts by other U.S. corporate giants. International Business Machines Corp., which already reduced its worldwide work force by 70,000 in 1992, plans to eliminate another 25,000 jobs this year. And General Motors Corp. recently identified nine plants it will close, dismissing 18,000 workers.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, during the second quarter of 1992 — a full year into the economic recovery — 1,043 factories conducted mass layoffs (that is, of 50 or more people), resulting in 196,135 people thrown out of work. At the same time, the BLS announced that due to budget cuts it would no longer be able to publish mass layoff statistics.

The current 7.3 percent unemployment rate is higher than in March 1991, the month that economists designate as the depth of the most recent recession. There are now more than 9 million workers officially unemployed in the United States. They are joined by another 1.8 million workers who are not counted because they are too discouraged to keep showing up at unemployment offices. In addition 6.3 million people are working part-time jobs, even though they are looking

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Robert Fox/Impact Visuals

Line at unemployment office in Brooklyn, New York. Although economy has been in recovery for seven quarters, bosses continue to lay off tens of thousands of workers.

Bosnia peace talks collapse in Geneva as fighting intensifies in the Balkans

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The five-month-long Geneva peace talks over Bosnia collapsed January 30 as the Muslim-led government and forces based on Bosnian Serbs failed to sign an accord calling for dividing Bosnia into 10 largely autonomous provinces. The talks' co-chairmen, former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen of Britain, are now urging the UN Security Council to "use the necessary powers" to impose this settlement.

For the first time since the breakup of the former state of Yugoslavia, fighting is occurring simultaneously in two republics — Bosnia and Croatia — raising the prospect

of a more generalized war in the Balkans.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic has expressed strong disagreements over the proposed Bosnia province borders since it would effectively reduce the areas under his military control from the current 70 percent to about 43 percent of Bosnian territory. Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic objects not only to the provincial boundaries, but to the call for a cease-fire in which heavy weapons would be placed under UN control. Only Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban has signed the entire package deal.

The Vance-Owen plan also calls for the replacement of the current Bosnian government with a nine-member interim council composed of representatives from the Croat, Serb, and Muslim forces. This body would rule until a new constitution is drawn up and elections held. A similar set-up would be put in place in each of the 10 provinces.

"The UN is going to need a lot more troops on the ground to make this work," stated Lord Owen, "and if the U.S. government really wants to be helpful, it should think about doing everything possible to help out including sending some soldiers."

Coinciding with the breakdown of the talks, fighting intensified throughout Bosnia. Rightist Serbian forces subjected



UN troops in town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia

the capital city of Sarajevo to the heaviest shelling in months. On January 30 alone, the toll was at least 25 dead and more than 30 injured, most of them civilians.

According to the January 31 *New York Times*, a new "ethnic cleansing" operation has occurred in western Herzegovina in which Serbs drove as many as 7,000 Muslims out of the town of Trebinje.

In central Bosnia, infantry battles and artillery mortar fire resounded around the towns of Zenica, Travnik, and Busovaca, as new fighting broke out between Muslim and

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Militant Labor Forum

The Clinton presidency: Challenges facing youth and trade unionists

These forums will take place in conjunction with national meetings of socialist trade unionists in the United Auto Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Speakers: representatives of the Socialist Workers Party.

Sat., February 13, 7:30 p.m.

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IN BRIEF

German workers seek parity

Leaders of the local IG Metall union in Saxony, in eastern Germany, are insisting on a 26 percent wage hike agreed to in 1991 as part of a package assuring workers in eastern Germany parity with those in the west by 1994. They rejected a 9 percent pay offer.

Helmut Schlesinger, president of the Bundesbank, said the 26 percent pay claim underlined the dangers of renewed inflation, and that such moves would rule out cuts in German interest rates.

Bankruptcies up in Japan

Corporate bankruptcies are rising at the fastest rate in Japanese history, according to a report published January 20 by a private research group. The report by the Teikoku Data Bank shows a 32.1 percent rise in the number of bankruptcies, with the number of failures more than doubling from 6,468 in 1990 to 14,167 last year.

Charges dropped against Osorio

A U.S. District Court has dropped the main charges against Puerto Rican independence activist Luis Colón Osorio. Colón Osorio was one of a group accused of a 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo depot, in what became known as the Hartford 15 case.

Colón Osorio, who served 17 months in "preventive detention" before going to trial, now faces charges for breaking parole while under the charges that have just been dropped against him.

FBI settles with Black agents

After nearly two years of negotiations, Acting Attorney General Stuart Gerson announced that an out-of-court settlement had been reached by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and more than 100 Black FBI agents who said they were denied promotions or merit awards because of racial discrimination. The settlement awards back pay and bonuses to the Black agents. The FBI also agreed to grant the agents promotions, transfers, or new training opportunities.

Cuba offers foreign bids on oil

Cuba will offer 11 onshore and offshore blocks this month for exploration and development by foreign oil companies.

It will be the first international commercial offer of this kind by Cuba. The Cuban state oil company said the offer inviting bids



Behind a banner that reads "Our language is Spanish," some 80,000 took to the streets of San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 24 to protest a proposed language bill that would make both English and Spanish the official languages of the island. The new law, signed a few days later by governor Pedro Roselló, reversed a 1991 law declaring Spanish as the only official language. Prior to that, both languages had been official since that Caribbean country of 3.6 million became a U.S. colony in 1898. According to a recent poll, 95 percent of those responding said they prefer that Spanish remain the official language.

would be officially presented February 10 in Canada and in London during the same month. U.S. companies would not be able to bid because of the U.S. embargo on Cuba.

In a related development, Benetton Group SPA, the Italian clothing manufacturer, is starting a chain of shops in Cuba, selling to foreign tourists through an agreement with the Cuban tourist corporation Cubanacan S.A.

Florida election law overturned

The U.S. Federal Court 11th Circuit has declared unconstitutional a Florida law that requires third parties to pay the government for the cost of checking their petitions. The law had required third parties to pay 10 cents for each name submitted. The basis for the decision, made on October 5 of last year, is that third parties cannot be treated more harshly than independent candidates, who need not necessarily pay it. The state has no plans to appeal the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Austerity in Panama

A World Bank document, issued in response to a loan request from Panama's government, says that Panama has to eliminate 19,000 government jobs. The document also demands several other austerity measures, such as curbing overtime payments, allowing firms to continue operating when their employees go on strike, and restricting compensation payments in case of unjustified dismissals.

The report, entitled "World Bank Report and Recommendations on the Loan Request for Panama's Economic Recovery," dated January 1992, adds that since the government decided to pay a "13th month" bonus to public employees, it now has to accelerate the implementation of the economic program agreed to with the World Bank in order to receive future loans from that institution. The bank gave the document a "restricted" circulation specification.

U.S. imposes tariffs on steel

The U.S. Department of Commerce has imposed steep tariffs on steel imports from 19 countries, stating that it found the foreign companies guilty of dumping or selling steel in the United States for less than they did at home, or less than its cost of production. Steel imports equal roughly a sixth of the United States market.

Besides Britain, Canada, and Japan, the other countries cited are Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, South Korea, Mexico, The Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain, and Sweden. In a column entitled, "Commerce's Latest Fair Trade Fraud," James Bavard writes in the *Wall Street Journal* that the steel decision "amounts to an instant embargo on imports from many countries."

The recent tariffs, imposed January 27, are supposedly temporary. They come in addition to preliminary tariffs averaging 12.5 percent that the Commerce Department imposed last November on steel from 12 countries.

Fighting heats up in Angola

Fighting between the Angolan government, led by the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the opposition group UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) accelerated in January, causing the deaths of tens of thousands of people. Millions of people have been forced from their homes by the conflict and more than 1.5 million face the prospect of starvation.

In UN-supervised elections held last September, the MPLA, headed by President José Eduardo dos Santos, defeated UNITA. However, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi refused to accept the outcome and at the end of October launched a major offensive to capture large areas of the country.

UNITA has recently seized control of nearly two-thirds of Angola's territory and effectively controls 105 of Angola's 164 municipalities, according to the UN.

"Things are worse now than they've ever been" said Sogge Chikoti, Angola's deputy foreign minister. "We have never seen so many refugees, so many deaths, so much destruction in such a short period of time."

During most of the country's 16-year-long civil war, UNITA never managed to hold any major city. However, according to the *New York Times*, some diplomats and political analysts are now saying that UNITA is within reach of an outright military victory.

Ireland devalues currency

After resisting the move for several months, the government of Ireland devalued its currency 10 percent on January 30. The devaluation of the Irish pound brings to five the number of major European currencies that have been devalued or taken out of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism since September.

Thirty percent of Irish exports go to Britain. In recent months, the value of the British pound, which had previously been devalued, fell below that of the Irish pound, costing Irish exporters millions of dollars.

Soldiers revolt in Zaire

Soldiers in Zaire revolted at the end of January after President Mobutu Sese Seko paid troops with newly printed banknotes that opposition Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi declared were worthless.

According to Buane Kabue, a leader of the Zaire Human Rights League, at least 100 people have died in the ensuing riots. The French ambassador to Zaire, Philippe Bernard, was also killed January 28 in a machine-gun attack on the embassy.

The French have sent troops to Zaire's capital city, Kinshasa. Belgium has also placed 500 paratroopers in Brazzaville, Congo, just across the river from Zaire.

— SELVA NEBBIA

THE MILITANT

For a world without borders!

From Haiti to Germany to the United States, the 'Militant' covers the fight for justice for immigrant workers. The 'Militant' explains the need for working people to defend all fellow workers, whatever their official immigration status, to better fight moves by the capitalist rulers to drive back the rights and living standards of all. Don't miss a single issue!



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Socialists launch campaign in Los Angeles

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

LOS ANGELES — "Our campaign for mayor of Los Angeles calls for an end to the U.S. attacks on Iraq," said Kim Allen in announcing the Socialist Workers Party campaign at a news conference here January 19.

Allen, the mayoral candidate, told the news conference that Washington's actions against Iraq make it easier to understand the real goals of the U.S. "humanitarian mission" in Somalia.

Allen continued, "It is in this context of worldwide instability, depression, trade wars, and shooting wars that the mayoral contest is taking place. Ten percent of the workforce in Los Angeles is unemployed; 100,000 are homeless; and three million have no medical coverage. The Democrats and Republicans offer no programs for jobs, expanded medical care, and other urgently needed social ser-

vices. To the contrary, they propose big tax hikes and massive layoffs. They launch an immigrant-bashing campaign and propose millions of dollars in additional spending for new prisons, increasing the police force and equipping with rubber bullets the same cops who beat Rodney King." Allen, a 27-year-old Santa Fe Railroad worker, is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1544.

Also announcing their campaign at the press conference were Juan Villagomez and Virginia Garza-Halstead, Socialist Workers candidates for City Council in Districts 13 and 1; and Naomi Bracey, Socialist Workers candidate for the Los Angeles Unified School Board in District 4.

Villagomez denounced the immigrant-bashing themes voiced by Democratic mayoral candidate Tom Houston. Houston, a lawyer and former deputy mayor, says that further immigration into Los Angeles is "like

overloading the lifeboats of a sinking ship." Houston's campaign has repeatedly attacked a proposal raised by another candidate, Julian Nava, to extend to immigrants the right to vote. Villagomez said "the Socialist Workers campaign supports the right of immigrants to vote. This demand aids the unification of the working class in struggle against the economic crisis we face."

The wave of anti-immigrant speeches by prospective Democratic and Republican politicians in Los Angeles has been reflected on the state level with three new bills. These assembly bills would prohibit the use of state tax dollars to educate so-called illegal immigrants; require doctors who provide them with medical care to report them to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS); and deny them workers' compensation benefits.

Kevin Jones, Socialist Workers candidate for Controller, pointed to the example of the southern California drywallers strike, involving thousands of immigrant and native-born workers, as an example of "the unity in action that is needed to defend our living standards and to stop government and corporate attacks." He hailed the drywall workers for winning "important gains in medical coverage, wages, and a union hiring hall in the course of their ongoing strike." Jones is a member of the United Auto Workers union and works at McDonnell Douglas.

Garza-Halstead, a longtime political activist and health-care worker, proposed "an immediate end to the budget cuts that are crippling the city's health-care services, education system, and social services."

City bus driver and United Transportation Union member Naomi Bracey pointed to her campaign for school board as part of the fight against the cutbacks in education.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Kim Allen, candidate for L.A. mayor.

Also announcing at the press conference was Gale Shangold, who is running for school board in District 2. Shangold is a laid-off meat-packer and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union.

The socialists' press conference was reported by a number of radio stations and newspapers, including *La Opinión*, which has a circulation of more than 100,000.

Petitioning to place candidates Kim Allen and Kevin Jones on the ballot began on January 25 with the goal of collecting 2,500 signatures by February 13. Volunteers are needed and can contact the socialist campaign at (213) 380-9640.

Since Gulf War, Iraqis rebuild much destroyed infrastructure

BY NAOMI CRAINE

In spite of the destruction that took place during the 1990-91 Gulf War, an ongoing economic embargo, and the recent wave of U.S.-led air strikes against Iraq, some of the basic infrastructure of that country is being rebuilt. While conditions remain harsh for most Iraqi workers and farmers, a tremendous effort to build and improvise seems to have averted the economic collapse Washington and its allies had been hoping for.

According to a recent *New York Times* article, Iraq has repaired almost all of the 134 bridges damaged by U.S. and allied bombing two years ago. In addition, Iraqi workers have rebuilt hundreds of miles of road and railway track and restored the electrical grid around the Iraqi capital, which was mostly destroyed by air strikes during the war.

This reconstruction effort has taken place despite the harsh sanctions imposed on Iraq by the United Nations Security Council in August 1990. These sanctions prohibit all international trade with Iraq, with some exceptions for food, medicine, and assistance deemed to be humanitarian. These exceptions are difficult to take advantage of, however, as Baghdad is prohibited from selling oil, which accounted for the big majority of the country's foreign exchange earnings.

In addition to the economic embargo, the Iraqi people have been subjected to sporadic military attacks and harassment from the governments of the United States, Britain, and France. Between January 13 and January 23 of this year, these powers carried out several bombing raids over Iraq, and launched 40 cruise missiles at sites around the capital. These attacks were supposedly intended to force the Iraqi government, headed by Saddam Hussein, to comply with UN Security Council edicts.

The bombing missions were halted during the last week of January, as UN nuclear inspectors made the rounds of 12 weapons sites in Iraq. U.S. officials continue to insist that Iraq has not carried out agreements to dismantle its chemical and nuclear weapons programs.

In the face of this aggression, the amount of reconstruction by Iraq is much more than what the U.S. rulers expected. Richard Murphy, a former assistant secretary of state for Near East affairs, told the *Times*, "The embargo didn't seem like wishful thinking at the time. But we underestimated Iraq's ingenuity."

A 350-mile canal running from the Baghdad area to the Persian Gulf is the biggest project undertaken to challenge the economic impact of the embargo. It is part of a plan to wash the salt out of 3.5 million acres of saline land, preparing it to be used to increase domestic food output. The canal was built in almost a year, using construction equipment left behind by foreign companies after the sanctions were imposed.

These achievements don't necessarily mean that the social conditions of workers and farmers in Iraq are good. The effects of the sanctions have hit them harder than other sections of the population, especially the widespread unemployment and skyrocketing prices for consumer goods.

A recent team from the British relief organization Oxfam, which spent two weeks in

various parts of Iraq, said that "ordinary Iraqis are still facing a humanitarian crisis." The group pointed to a lack of sewage treatment and clean water supplies in the southern region and a shortage of heating oil in the north.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported that much of the reconstruction around Baghdad was carried out with equipment and parts cannibalized from elsewhere in Iraq. As a result, the paper says, some parts of the country that weren't damaged by the war now lack services such as telephones and

Continued on Page 4

Miami socialist condemns Haiti policy

BY SETH GALINSKY

MIAMI — The reporter from WCMQ, a Spanish-language radio station here, was getting uncomfortable as she interviewed Dan Fein January 26. Fein is the socialist candidate for Dade County commissioner, District 3. When Fein stated that he supports the Cuban revolution, she had had enough. "The interview is over," she said abruptly.

In spite of her hostility to the message of the socialist campaign, the radio station decided to run the interview. Thousands of its mostly Cuban listeners in Miami heard the campaign announcement.

In all, two radio stations, two local television stations, plus the *Miami Herald* and its Spanish-language edition *El Nuevo Herald* interviewed Fein.

In his statement to the press, Fein condemned the "criminal naval blockade around Haiti to prevent people from fleeing the repressive regime and the economic crisis there. Instead of forcing Haitians back into the hands of the blood-soaked military government, the U.S. borders should be opened, all those detained at Krome [detention center] should be released."

"The crisis in Haiti," Fein continued, "is part and parcel of the worldwide economic depression. The ruling rich want to take out the crisis of their system on our backs."

"While President Clinton and the rich people he represents continue their drive to austerity and war, working people are already beginning to defend their rights," the socialist concluded. "I will join with those who are defending abortion clinics. I will be on the picket line protesting police brutality. I will be at demonstrations against the bombing of Iraq, and I will march for justice for Haitian refugees. I will encourage young people, workers, and unionists to do the same."

Fein, an aircraft fueler for Citgo at Miami International Airport, is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union Local 3-681.

The interviews with Fein took place after he turned in the paperwork and \$450 registration fee to be on the ballot in the March 16 election.

This special election for seats on the Dade County Commission is the result of a lawsuit that challenged the previous composition and election of the board. Currently seven of the nine seats on the Commission are held by non-Latino

whites, even though the population of Dade County is two-thirds Latino and Black.

U.S. District Judge Donald Graham found that the set-up violated the federal Voting Rights Act. He accepted a new 13-district election plan that is expected to give Latinos a majority on the board and more seats to Blacks.

The new district Fein is running in, District 3, encompasses the heart of Little Haiti, where thousands of Haitian refugees live. In

the past month there have been several demonstrations involving hundreds of Haitians protesting U.S. policy. The district also includes Liberty City and Overtown, the center of the Black community.

The attention Fein's campaign announcement received in the media is a reflection of the continued possibilities for defenders of the Cuban revolution to openly express their views in Miami, in spite of opposition from the most right-wing sections of the Cuban-American community.

Thousands rally in Denver against racism, antigay law



Militant/Naomi Craine

Many at Martin Luther King march in Denver were protesting antigay Amendment 2

BY MIKE BODILY
AND NELSON GONZÁLEZ

DENVER — The annual Martin Luther King March here, one of the nation's largest, drew thousands to demonstrate against racism. A predominantly young crowd marched, chanted, and sang along the two-and-a-half-mile route from City Park to the downtown convention center.

Held Monday January 18, the march continued a city tradition begun in 1986. It occurred in the context of an accelerating social crisis, racist attacks, and police brutality. Signs protesting the beating of Rodney King, police brutality, and the bombing

of Iraq were visible.

A large contingent of gay rights supporters were prominent on the march. They carried numerous placards protesting the recent passage of Colorado's Amendment 2, which denies civil rights protection for gays and lesbians, knocking down existing ordinances of protection in three Colorado cities.

Militant supporters sold 98 copies of the paper and 30 Pathfinder titles to marchers. At a Militant Labor Forum that afternoon, 42 people participated in a discussion entitled "Malcolm X: His revolutionary legacy and relevance for today's fighters."

Miners find 'Militant' source on int'l struggles

"As the expiration date nears for the contract between the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), distributors of the *Militant* have made a special effort to reach out to UMWA miners in the northern West Virginia coalfields for the last three weeks," reports laid-off UMWA coal miner Clay Dennison from Morgantown, West Virginia.

in northern West Virginia and western Virginia signed up four new subscribers in January.

Militant supporters from Birmingham, Alabama, spent Saturday, January 30 distributing the paper in the coal mining town of Jasper. Outside a grocery store where many miners shop, 23 papers were sold in two and a half hours.

"The companies want to bust the union," stated one miner to *Militant*

cost of subscriptions to our readers behind bars.

From Saskatchewan, G.M. sent in his renewal along with a note saying, "Though I do not always agree with everything in the *Militant*, it gives me an invaluable source of information on international news from an alternative perspective. Keep up the good work!"

From Eugene, Oregon, a member of the African National Congress, who had been receiving the paper when he lived in Los Angeles, renewed his subscription at his new location.

The 'Militant' gets around

"Sales teams have been appearing regularly at mine portals and working-class communities that lie close to the largest concentration of mines owned by the Consolidation Coal Company as well as at some Peabody Coal and Island Creek portals," said Dennison.

"We're finding an increasing interest in the *Militant*," stated Morgantown *Militant* distributor Chris Rayson, who has helped to coordinate these sales. "We have sold a number of papers nearly every time we have been out. Miners are interested in reading about other struggles going on in the world as they face a possible fight with the coal operators."

"In three sales at Consolidation Coal's Arkwright mine," Rayson continued, "13 miners bought the *Militant* and one of them expressed an interest in getting a subscription."

Sales teams have also sold a number of papers to miners outside special union meetings called to prepare the local's membership for the possibility of upcoming fights. Additional community sales to UMWA miners

sales person Tim Mailhot. "A woman who just retired after 15 years in the mines," writes Mailhot, "commented that the main issue in dispute was that the company now wants to run the mines seven days a week."

In the week leading up to the Jasper trip, Birmingham *Militant* supporters sold papers at five mine portals. "We received a friendlier response than usual from miners who were open to political discussions," said Mailhot. Plans are in the works to get to all the UMWA-organized coal mines in Alabama during the next two weeks.

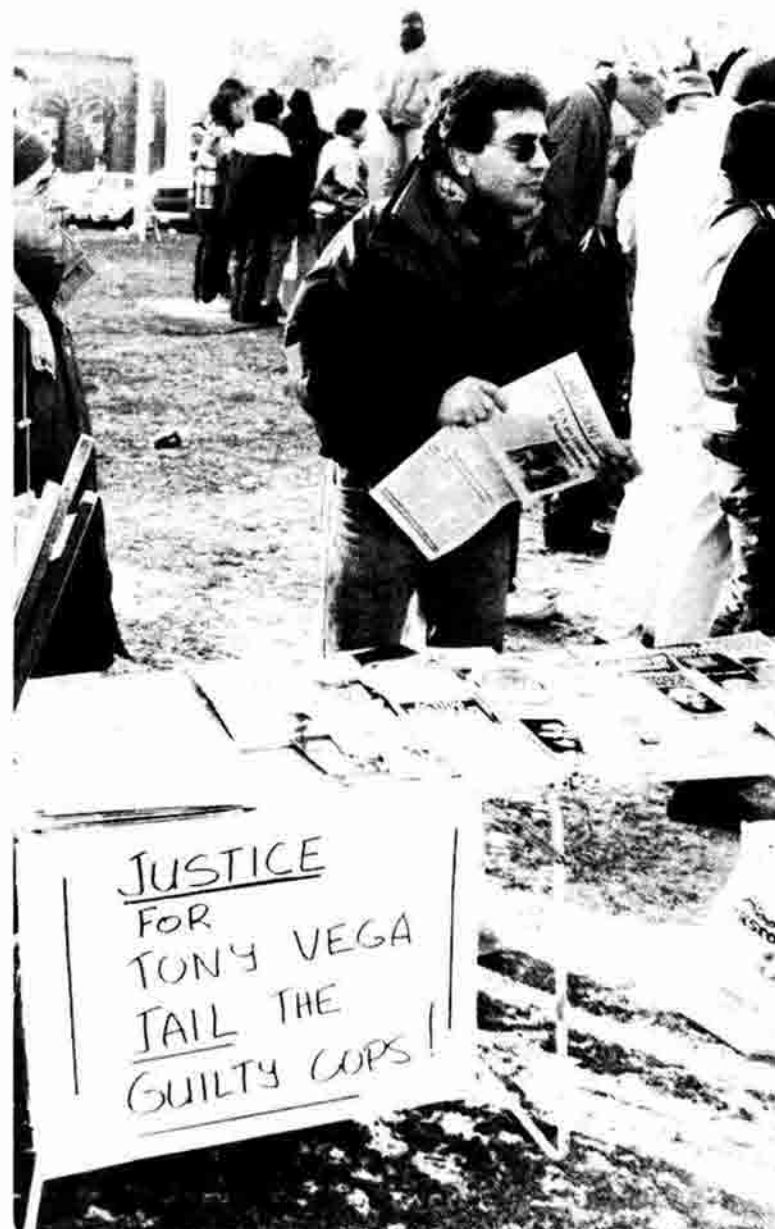
New subscriptions and renewals continue to arrive in the *Militant* business office every day. Last week 30 readers sent in requests to renew their *Militant* subscriptions.

T.Y., a reader in Japan who renewed for a year, wrote, "You can expect my report regarding the Japanese labor union movement next time." He also made a donation to the *Militant's* prisoner subscription fund, which helps subsidize the low

From the Iowa State Penitentiary in Ft. Madison, Iowa, where there are currently four *Militant* subscribers, Mark Curtis reports that the paper is getting read and is being passed around. "People are especially interested in the articles on South Africa and Somalia and a lot of people really follow developments in my defense case," said Curtis in a phone interview from the prison.

From Yardley, Pennsylvania, *Militant* supporter Amy Lowenstein writes, "It's exactly 20 years since the *Roe v. Wade* decision. A good way to celebrate that the law is still alive (such as it is) is to contribute to keeping the *Militant* excellent. I see in the January 15 issue you need funds to cover reports from Haiti, etc., and I know you always need donations to the prisoners' fund. Please split this \$150 the way you think best between these two purposes."

— BRIAN WILLIAMS



Militant/George Rose

At January protest against cop killing in Toronto

Court widens scope for executing the innocent

BY DEREK BRACEY

The U.S. Supreme Court released a ruling January 25 that makes it more difficult for prisoners to defend themselves against execution. The court decided by a 6-3 vote that state death row inmates who provide later evidence of innocence are not normally entitled to a new trial.

The ruling ends the legal recourse for Leonel Herrera, who in 1982 was convicted and sentenced to death in Texas for the killing of two cops. Herrera asserted his innocence based on new evidence obtained since the trial, and said that, because of this, his execution would violate the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which protects against cruel and unusual punishment.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist, writing for the majority, said Herrera's claim of innocence had no legal weight because he had been convicted. "Once a defendant has been afforded a fair trial and convicted of the offense for which he was charged, the presumption of innocence disappears," Rehnquist stated.

The Supreme Court also said newly discovered evidence is not a sufficient basis for federal court relief through a writ of habeas corpus if there are no constitutional violations involved. "Federal habeas courts sit to insure that individuals are not imprisoned in violation of the Constitution," Rehnquist said, "not to correct errors of fact."

Herrera obtained a January 1992 statement from his nephew, Raul Herrera Jr., that

said Herrera's brother, Raul Herrera Sr., told his son in 1983 that he had shot the police officers. Raul Herrera Sr. died the following year. Herrera's defense also presented the statements of three other witnesses who had earlier named Raul Herrera Sr. as the killer.

Texas law allows only 30 days after a conviction for the defendant to request another trial based on new evidence. Thirteen other states have 30-day limitations. Some states have two- or three-year time limits, and New York and New Jersey have no time restraints on such appeals.

Rehnquist's opinion left open the possibility that "truly persuasive" evidence with an "extraordinarily high" chance of success in a new trial might be an exception to the rule and could be considered by federal

courts. Nevertheless, he said, Herrera's new evidence fell far short of putting into question what he asserted was strong proof of the prisoner's guilt.

Justice Harry Blackmun, in a dissenting opinion, argued that submissions of new evidence that show innocence should be considered for prisoners sentenced to death. "The Court also suggests that allowing petitioner to raise his claim of innocence would not serve society's interest in the reliable imposition of the death penalty," Blackmun wrote, "because it might require a new trial that would be less accurate than the first."

"This suggestion misses the point entirely. The question is not whether a second trial would be more reliable than the first but whether, in light of new evidence, the result of the first trial is sufficiently reliable for the State to carry out a death sentence."

Rehnquist said Herrera should appeal to the governor of Texas for clemency. He said clemency "is deeply rooted in our Anglo-American tradition of law, and is the historic remedy for preventing miscarriages of justice where the judicial process has been exhausted."

Cop killing of Black Cleveland youth sparks protests

BY DON MACKLE AND PACO SANCHEZ

CLEVELAND — The killing of a young Black man by two white policemen has sparked protests and a great deal of discussion among working people in this city.

Michael Pipkins, 23, was killed December 28 as two cops were arresting him on suspicion of car theft. Eyewitness accounts say Pipkins was wrestled to the ground; then one of the officers put Pipkins in a chokehold while the other sat on his thighs and tried to handcuff him.

"This is a problem the police department themselves created," stated Jack Blair, Pipkins's father. "It happens so many times, it's just normal, but this time it caught up with them. Other times they cover it up better."

The police claimed that, after arresting Pipkins, they took him to the Fourth District police station where he collapsed and died before medical care could arrive.

Rubin Smith, who was arrested along with Pipkins, explained, however, that on the way to the station, police pulled over to check Pipkins's pulse when they realized he had not regained consciousness. City Coroner Elizabeth Balraj has ruled the death a

homicide, and confirmed that Pipkins never regained consciousness from the chokehold.

"His neck was bent in the shape of an 'L,'" stated another eyewitness. "They didn't need a doctor for him; they needed God because he was dead."

An official city coroner ruling said that the death was a "homicide by legal intervention." The Blair family attorney has filed suit to have the phrase "by legal intervention" dropped from the ruling.

The coroner's report also claimed that Pipkins had more than the legal limit of alcohol in his blood and the drug PCP in his system.

"Not only did they kill my son, but they try to discredit him by saying he was using drugs," explained Betty Blair, Pipkins's mother, in response to the allegations.

'No more Rodney Kings'

A series of demonstrations took place following the killing. More than 100 people turned out for Pipkins's funeral. A similar number attended a demonstration in front of the police station. Protesters carried signs that said, "No More Rodney Kings," and "No Justice, No Peace." Two more demonstrations were held later in the

week in front of city hall.

Neither the charge of drug and alcohol use, nor the claim by the cops that Pipkins resisted arrest have significantly undermined the community sentiment in favor of Pipkins.

Although the demonstrations have tapered off, working people throughout the city continue to discuss the Blair family's fight for justice. A statement issued by the Cleveland Socialist Workers Party points out that the charges against Pipkins are "an attempt to distract attention from the real issue — the police acting as judge, jury, and executioner."

"The labor movement along with Black, Latino, and civil rights organizations should mobilize to force the prosecution of the cops," continues the SWP statement. "A sustained campaign of peaceful and broadly sponsored mobilizations in the streets of all those demanding the cops be put on trial is what is necessary to win justice for Michael Pipkins."

Don Mackle is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1170. Paco Sanchez is a member of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 233.

Iraqis rebuild war-ravaged infrastructure

Continued from Page 3

electricity that have been restored in the capital. Because foreign journalists' travel outside of Baghdad has been sharply restricted by the Iraqi government in recent weeks, accurate reports are hard to get.

The Kurdish population of northern Iraq, which Washington claims it is protecting from the Iraqi regime with a "no-fly" zone, is confronting a double embargo. Baghdad has carried out a 15-month blockade against the Kurds, who oppose the Hussein government. Kurdish authorities have repeatedly asked the United Nations to ease some of its sanctions to allow development projects. These requests, all of which have all been denied, included a \$10 million project to produce and refine oil for local needs and a plan to import a sunflower press to produce cooking oil.

'Class resentment' doomed the nomination of Zoë Baird

BY NAOMI CRAINE

In the wake of the Zoë Baird controversy, several newspaper and magazine articles have focused on the issue of child care. Many of these articles reveal the world of difference that exists between the child-care arrangements of the wealthy and those of working-class women. They also show how resentments stemming from these differences led to Baird's downfall.

Baird, a wealthy corporate lawyer, had been nominated by President Bill Clinton for the post of attorney general. She withdrew her nomination January 22 amid a public outcry against the disclosure that she had employed two undocumented immigrants as a nanny and a chauffeur.

Both during a screening by Clinton's advisers and a background check by the FBI, Baird openly stated that she and her husband had illegally hired a Peruvian couple as domestic servants and failed to pay taxes on their wages. Clinton and those around him expressed the opinion that the infraction would be no obstacle to the appointment.

But members of the Senate committee considering the nomination received hun-

dreds of irate calls from people opposed to Baird's appointment in the days after the news became public. At that point, Clinton backed off from his earlier stance and claimed he had not been fully informed of the situation.

Clinton wasn't the only one surprised by the response his nominee received. The *Wall Street Journal*, which favored Baird's appointment because of her pro-business views, likened her offense to a speeding or parking ticket and implied that many in high positions carry out the same hiring practices. During the confirmation hearings, the *Los Angeles Times* commented, "Is this minor scandal troubling? Yes. Should it embarrass Clinton and the Bairds? Most certainly. Should it disqualify Baird from being Attorney General? We think not."

Rich, powerful lawyers

Clinton and those around him thought the Baird nomination would carry because of their blindness to the resentment felt by many working people toward the small layer in society who can afford to hire nannies. Describing the rich, powerful lawyers who lead the investigation into Clinton's cabinet

prospects, one transition adviser noted, "What happened here was that a lot of people who live in million-dollar houses and think nothing of hiring illegals were in charge of the process."

"The United States has become a society riven with class resentments" was how the *Wall Street Journal* explained Baird's demise. "People were angry that a woman making \$500,000 a year complained about child-care problems when they are trying to cope on so much less," Linda Eads, a lawyer who specializes in women's issues, told *Newsweek*. According to the magazine, 95 percent of women with young children struggle to make child-care arrangements with relatives, neighbors, and day-care centers.

Time magazine observed, "when a couple with a net worth of more than \$2 million hire not only an undocumented nanny but a driver as well, when they fail to pay the Social Security and workers' compensation taxes they owe, when a topflight corporate lawyer married to a renowned Yale law professor blames their troubles on 'bad legal advice,' the sympathy hardens into fury."

The cabinet nominee and her backers did not consider her child-care arrangements to be unusual in her social layer. It is a simple case of the reality where members of one social class — the working class — care for the children of another class, at rock-bottom rates of pay.

"I want someone who cannot leave the country, who doesn't know anyone in New York, who basically does not have a life. I want someone who is completely dependent on me and loyal to my family," bluntly declared one New York resident who plans to hire a nanny for newborn triplets. She was interviewed as part of a *New York Times* article titled, "Increasingly, 2-Career Family Means Illegal Immigrant Help," which pointed to a growing demand among the wealthy for housekeepers and other servants. Many employment agencies in the city told the *Times* they routinely place undocumented workers in private homes, generally at much lower wages than those paid



Peruvian-born Victor Cordero, who worked as a chauffeur for Zoë Baird.

to people with papers.

As Clinton began searching for a new attorney general, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) snapped into action. They ordered Victor and Lillian Cordero to appear at a deportation hearing. The Corderos are the Peruvian couple, now separated, who had been employed by Baird.

Conditions like a 'trapped animal'

In an interview broadcast on CBS-TV, Victor Cordero said, "I don't believe I've committed any crime; I want to stay in this country." Cordero moved to the United States at 18 and tried several times to become a legal resident. Since the controversy over the Baird nomination began, the 26-year-old man said, he "feels like a trapped animal." His lawyer announced January 27 that Cordero had "voluntarily departed the United States to return to Peru." The INS still intends to investigate Lillian Cordero for possible deportation.

El Diario, a New York Spanish-language daily, criticized INS policies toward undocumented workers. An editorial stated that the INS "is arbitrary in the way it treats undocumented aliens. It persecutes some while ignoring others. It favors white European aliens while it discriminates against Latinos. And it closes the doors on Haitians." The paper called for a more just policy toward immigrant workers "who, like the Corderos, are forced to live in conditions akin to those of a trapped animal."

Cuban economist speaks to hundreds of people during tour of Canada

BY JANET FISHER

TORONTO — "The reason we are so internationalist is not just a matter of sentiment but because we need the world revolution. We are keeping the flame of revolution alive while other people make revolutions," said Cuban economist Carlos Tablada to strong applause at a citywide meeting of 280 people here January 23.

Tablada is on a two-week tour of Canada sponsored by Pathfinder Press on the occasion of the publication of the French edition of his book, *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*.

Meetings at York University, McMaster University in Hamilton, and the University of Toronto were also broadly sponsored on the campuses and drew approximately 100 participants each. Tablada also met with unionists at a luncheon.

At all meetings Tablada was questioned about the effects in Cuba of the increase in tourism. Acknowledging the black market and other anti-social activities, he defended the Cuban government's policy in promoting tourism. He said that Cuba's social problems do not come from tourism but from the shifts in attitudes that occurred during the time that Cuba had adopted the Soviet model of production, "in my opinion the worst error of the Cuban revolution," where gains in revolutionary consciousness that had been won in the early days of the revolution were lost.

Explaining his view of why the revolution in Cuba remains strong, Tablada stated that the bureaucracy there "has never been as powerful as it was in the former Soviet Union, where it killed off all the leaders of the revolution, except for Dzerzhinsky and Lenin," both of whom died of natural causes in the early 1920s. "In Cuba, the bureaucracy doesn't have the power to eliminate the revolutionaries. . . . The vanguard of the revolution was not bureaucratized," and the ideas of Che and Fidel are still alive, he said.

In answer to a question at York University about the future of the revolution after Fidel Castro, Tablada explained, "If Fidel were to die tomorrow, the vast majority of the youth that would be found in Cuba would not be like those around the tourist areas but a profoundly revolutionary youth — in fact, much more revolutionary than the generation that made the revolution. When they criticize, it is to make the revolution less bureaucratic, less corrupt, more socialist, more communist."

Tablada described changes to the electoral process that were implemented in December, requiring direct public voting to all levels of government. "Many bureaucrats have not bothered to submit their names for nomination because they realize they would not be elected," he said. The former People's Power system allowed for the population to elect



Tablada, at microphone, addresses Vancouver and District Labour Council meeting.

people at the local level who in turn elected delegates to the provincial and national assemblies.

Tablada said that the war moves of the United States are linked to the competition among three large trading blocs — Japan, Europe, and North America. "The U.S. government massacred 130,000 Iraqis to guarantee their supply of oil. They are disembarking troops in Somalia, but the news media here are not talking now about feeding the starving, but about oil in Somalia and control of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea." He added, "I wouldn't be surprised if Clinton invaded Yugoslavia tomorrow. After all, they are concerned that Germany is already in Croatia."

One question at McMaster University, from a person who identified himself as a unionist, referred to the campaign that has been organized in Canada to send powdered milk to Cuba. The questioner wanted to know how Canadians could organize to send more material aid to Cuba and help defend the revolution.

Tablada explained that a ship full of food is greatly appreciated but, "what is more important is the second part of your question. We don't discount or lessen the material support but most important is the moral support, the urging of respect for our sovereignty and the building of solidarity."

Janet Fisher is a laid-off member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9046.

Plans set for Tablada tour of Britain

Preparations for Carlos Tablada's tour of Britain are well under way. The speaking tour, which is set to begin February 3, is sponsored by Pathfinder Press, the publisher of the English- and French-language editions of the Cuban economist's book, *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*.

Organizers in Yorkshire have been getting a favorable response from major bookstores in towns where Tablada is scheduled to tour. More than \$1,700 worth of Pathfinder titles, mainly on Cuba, was sold in just four days. Bookstore managers were interested in the news that a Cuban economist and author was coming to speak at campuses in the area.

A wide range of academics, Members of Parliament (MPs), and labor and solidarity organizations have endorsed the Yorkshire tour. At Bradford University, the executive of the students' union has endorsed the

meeting and is publicizing it around campus. Tablada was also invited by the Peace Studies department at Bradford. At the University of Leeds the politics department is hosting a meeting for the economist. Tablada will address two meetings at Sheffield University, one hosted by students and the other by the Hispanic studies department.

A February 5 public meeting will be held in Sheffield, preceded by a reception. Endorsers include two Sheffield MPs; European Parliament member Roger Barton; the Doncaster Central branch of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers union; and the Joint Shop Stewards Committee of Shadlows, an engineering plant. Frank Cave, the vice-president of the National Union of Mineworkers, has sent greetings to be read at the public meeting.

After his visit to Yorkshire, Tablada will speak in Manchester, London, and Cardiff.

Schedule for Carlos Tablada's European Tour

BRITAIN

Bradford: Bradford University, Thurs., Feb. 4 **Sheffield:** Public meeting, Quaker House, Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. • University of Sheffield, Mon., Feb. 8 • Hallam University, Tues., Feb. 9 • University of Leeds, Tues., Feb. 9 • Liverpool University, Wed., Feb. 10 **Manchester:** Manchester University, Thurs., Feb. 11 • Metropolitan University, Fri., Feb. 12 • Public meeting, Mechanics Institute, Princess Street, Sat., Feb. 13 **London:** House of Commons, Mon., Feb. 23 • Queen Mary and Westfield College, Wed., Feb. 24 • School of Oriental and African Studies of University of London, Wed., Feb. 24 • Association of South African Students, Fri., Feb. 26 • Public meeting, Congress House, Great Russell Street, Sat., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. **Cardiff:**

University of Wales, Thurs., Feb. 25

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Public meeting, Medborgarhuset, Sat., Feb. 20, 4 p.m.

FRANCE

Lyons: University of Lyons, Wed., March 3 • Public meeting, Wed., March 3 **Paris:** Public meeting, Sat., March 13

BELGIUM

Brussels: Public meeting, Huis der Mutualiteiten, Maison des Mutualites St. Gansstraat, Rue St. Jeans 32, Sat., March 6

For details call: Sheffield: 0742 765 070; Manchester: 061 839 1766; London: 071 401 2409; Stockholm: 46 8 316933; France: 33 14 726 5821; Belgium: 32 32 721 615; or Pathfinder Distribution at 071 261 1354.

Pro-choice activists defend Puerto Rico clinics from attack

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — One of the largest abortion rights marches in several years occurred here January 18. Several hundred people came out to defend women's rights in the face of a campaign by right-wing groups to harass and attempt to close abortion clinics.

The Pro-Reproductive Rights Group has been countering the actions of supporters of the Lambs of Christ. The January 18 activity was called to mobilize support for this effort. Lambs of Christ is an antiabortion group that has a history of physical confrontations in front of abortion clinics.

A much larger demonstration, which opposed abortion, took place across the street. That march, organized by the Catholic church, included many nuns and priests who were bused in.

An ongoing battle between the Lambs of Christ and abortion rights supporters has taken place in Puerto Rico since the January 7 arrival of two leaders of the organization, Rev. Norman Weslin, a Catholic priest, and Rev. Ed Martin, a Pentecostal minister. Rev. Patricio Welch, who has organized abortion clinic blockades since September, invited Weslin and Martin to help the anti-choice effort on the island.

The Pro-Reproductive Rights Group re-

sponded to this stepped-up harassment of women seeking abortions. The day the anti-abortion leaders arrived, the group held a press conference condemning blockades against clinics. A pro-choice demonstration of 30 people met Weslin, Martin, and their supporters at the airport.

The next day the first of several confrontations occurred at a clinic in the Río Piedras section of this city. The antiabortion forces blocked the entrances of the clinic at 5:00 a.m. Shortly after, abortion rights supporters, eventually numbering 50, arrived to demonstrate their support for women seeking abortions at the clinic. The police arrested 39 people, including 14 minors.

During the next week and a half, pro-choice activists came out several times to protest the Lambs of Christ attacks and to reach out to other people for support. On January 16, pro-choice activists handed out hundreds of leaflets denouncing the clinic blockades and urging participation in the January 18 march.

Abortion was legalized in this colony of the United States through the U.S. Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* ruling. The large social struggles in the United States to win that right never spread to Puerto Rico. The new fight around abortion rights is now sparking widespread discussion on this question. Un-



Abortion rights supporters rally January 18 in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Right-wing Lambs of Christ has tried to shut down abortion clinics on the island.

til now, most political organizations — including pro-independence groups — have tried to avoid debate on it.

The new administration of Gov. Pedro Rosselló has divided on the abortion issue. Rosselló, a leader of the pro-statehood New Progressive Party (PNP), took office in early January.

Rosselló has said he is opposed to abor-

tion, but has also distanced himself from Welch's tactics. Secretary of Health Enrique Vázquez Quintana has made pro-choice statements, and antiabortion forces have called for his resignation. Rosselló's choice for secretary of justice, Enid Martínez Moya, said that she "cannot be the judge of women who opt for abortion. . . I believe that it is an individual decision."

Three PNP legislators attended the anti-abortion rally and called for laws restricting the right to choose. Zaida Hernández Torres, president of the House of Representatives, replied that such legislation must not contradict the Supreme Court of the United States.

Shetland Islanders protest effects of oil spill

BY DEBBIE De LANGE AND RICH PALSER

SHETLAND ISLANDS, Scotland — Following the spillage of 800,000 tons of crude oil from the tanker *Braer* along the southern coast of these islands, a debate has begun here on how to ensure that measures are taken to prevent future pollution disasters. Protests have involved farmers, fishermen, workers, and environmental campaigners.

The first protests began when the Shetland Islands Council began spraying oil slicks from the air with a chemical dispersant. Residents threatened to block the airport runway after strong winds began driving the dispersant spray inland. Sprayings were then temporarily halted. According to the environmental group Greenpeace, one of the three dispersants used has been banned in Norway due to its toxicity. The council refused to disclose the exact content of the sprays, citing the suppliers' right to commercial secrecy.

"Even in ideal conditions you cannot get out of the water more than 10 percent of the

oil," said a Greenpeace representative. "It's immoral of the authorities to pretend they can clean up the environment after a spill."

Now that the wind and waves have dispersed the light crude oil into the water, public discussion has turned to possible measures that can avoid another spillage. The Shetland Fishermen's Association has called for enforcement of the tanker exclusion zone, which extends 10 miles off the islands' coast.

"It is presently voluntary and it should be made compulsory," association officer John Goodlad said in an interview. "Thirty percent of the labor force here is in fishing, fish farming, fish processing, and marine engineering. This spillage has been dispersed but we don't yet know the effects on plankton, eggs, and fish larvae. We are also supporting the no-fishing zone in the area of the spill, which accounts for 5 to 10 percent of fishing grounds, and 20 percent of salmon farms."

Every catch brought into Lerwick fish market is now being tested. Already, salmon farmed in the sea inlets have been found to

be contaminated with oil.

Kenneth Pottinger and Wally Robertson are members of the four-person crew of the fishing boat *Comrades*. Like most of the fishing boats here, it is jointly owned by the crew. "The market here at Scalloway is closed because of the spill," Pottinger said. "We don't know yet what the spill's effects are. We were hoping that with a bigger EC [European Community] quota for catching whiting, things would be better this year. In 1991 we were forced by EC regulations to tie up three consecutive days in every month. The government has no idea about fishing."

"I want to see a large ocean-going salvage tug stationed in Shetland permanently," said Drew Ratter, secretary of the Shetland branch of the Crofters' Union. The tugs stationed at the British Petroleum oil refinery at Sullom Voe are not ocean-going craft and were unable to navigate the gale conditions to assist the tanker adrift off the Shetlands. Ratter has 20 cattle and 300 sheep on his croft (small farm), and like most other crofters is forced to supplement the family income through a part-time job.

"Since 1988 lamb prices have fallen," he said. "We are now too dependent on agricultural support and compensatory payments made to ease the reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy. And they only last until 1996. After that, it's unknown." Ratter fears the contamination of farmland due to the oil spill will further erode the price received for their livestock.

Ronnie Obern, who works on his father-in-law's farm in southern Shetland, explained that they are unable to sell their crops in the field due to contamination. "We need compensation. When there was a fire at the queen's Windsor Castle, the government turned round overnight and said the taxpayer would foot the bill," he pointed out. "I think oil tankers should be kept out of the channel between Shetland and Fair Isle, where the disaster happened."

A protest petition circulating here, addressed to Prime Minister John Major, calls for the government to underwrite costs facing the islanders. It also demands strict implementation of exclusion zones on oil tankers, a full public inquiry into the disaster, requiring tanker owners to be subject to unlimited liability for compensation; and monitoring of tanker movements around the Shetlands.

Debbie De Lange is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union in Sheffield, England.

Tijuana mudslide disaster is result of capitalist underdevelopment

BY MARTY PETTIT AND DUANE STILWELL

TIJUANA, Mexico — Thirty-three people have been killed and more than 10,000 made homeless in this city of 2 million people as a result of floods and mudslides. Starting January 7, there have been two weeks of nearly constant rain. Most of those killed lived in working-class districts on the outskirts of Tijuana.

The rainfall for this season has already surpassed the annual average of 9.90 inches. The relentless storms were as severe in San Diego, California, right across the border from Tijuana. Storm-related deaths totaled two in that city. The disparity comes from the relative underdevelopment of Tijuana, where poorly braced structures cling to steep hillsides.

Isabel Dones Morales, 71 years old, and her 34-year-old son Cuauhtemoc Mesa Dones were killed in Yucatan Canyon when a wave of water, mud, and rocks crashed down a steep slope; shattered a stone retaining wall; and cascaded into the back of Dones's home. The family had been building a larger and more substantial home adjacent to the one that was destroyed. The half-finished home was untouched by the landslide.

In San Diego, volunteers organized by a local radio station collected about \$17,000 and 300,000 pounds of relief items, which were trucked down to neighboring Tijuana.

Mexican governmental relief and clean-up priorities include relocating more than 5,000 storm refugees housed in 40 shelters around the city. Carlos Rojas Gutiérrez, national director of the Solidarity public works program founded by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari said "we are studying how to proceed" to relocate people without letting them return to vulnerable canyons and hillsides to live.

Workers here could be observed cleaning up parking lots and streets still clogged with mud and one- to two-foot-deep standing water. Some pedestrians had built makeshift bridges of stone and wooden pallets to cross over the mud. One store owner with a sense of humor placed a warning sign "Prohibido Pescar!!" (no fishing) on a three-foot-deep pothole in the street.

Many workers placed angry telephone calls to radio stations and city hall after heeding repeated calls by Tijuana Mayor Héctor Osuna Jaime to keep off the streets and stay home, only to hear that their employers planned to dock their pay for the day.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Stop the Bombing of Iraq! Demonstration. Sat., Feb. 6, 11 a.m. Westwood Federal Building, Wilshire Blvd. and 405 Fwy. Tel: (213) 852-0578.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Origins of Women's Oppression and the Fight for Women's Liberation Today. Class series. Saturdays, Feb. 6 — March 20. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Discussion on the Current Situation in Cuba. Speaker: Alcibiades Hidalgo Gato, Cuban ambassador to the United Nations. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. Casa de Las Americas, 104 W. 14th St. Donation: \$2 Tel: (212) 675-2584.

March in Solidarity with Haitian Refugees. Sat., Feb. 6, 9 a.m. Assemble at City Hall, march to rally at United Nations. Sponsored by Haitian Enforcement Against Racism. Tel: (718) 604-3665.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Launch the Socialist Workers Election Campaign. Speaker: Joanne Kuniansky, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor. Sun., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Sponsored by Socialist Workers 1993 Campaign Committee. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Socialist Educational Conference. Classes: The Clinton Presidency—Challenges Facing Youth and Trade Unionists; The Fight for Women's Rights Today; South Africa: The ANC and the Struggle for Power. Forum: Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today. Sat. and Sun., Feb. 20–21. 1405 E. Madison. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party (U.S.) and Communist League (Canada). Tel: (206) 323-1755.

CANADA

Vancouver

October 1962 'Missile Crisis': The U.S. War to Crush Cuba. Class. Tues., Feb. 9, 7 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24th Ave). Donation: \$2. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

Alabama USWA strikers tour Pittsburgh

BY JOHN COX
AND SHEILA OSTROW

PITTSBURGH — "We came up here to get some solidarity and to let everyone know that it's not just in Bessemer" that workers are under attack, said Alvin Darden, a striking member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 9226 at Trinity Industries in Bessemer, Alabama. Darden was speaking at a meeting at the University of Pittsburgh sponsored by a student group, Students for Peace, as well as the United Faculty and the Institute for International Studies.

Darden and fellow striker Evan Roberts toured the Pittsburgh area for three days during the last week of January to gain solidarity for their strike. The tour was initiated by John Weaver, a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh, and received the support of other student and faculty organizations.

Darden gave an overview of the recent conflicts between his union and Trinity, which is the largest producer of rail cars in the United States. He said that prior to a vote on union affiliation in 1987, shortly after the plant was bought from Pullman, "they promised that if we didn't vote the union in, they would give us a quarter-an-hour raise and a better health policy. Some of us were naive enough to believe this," Darden explained, and the union lost the vote.

"The next Monday morning, the boss got all of us together and told us 'this is our plant and we'll run it like we want. We don't need the union,' they said," Darden continued, "which of course they don't — but we do." He added that "the next year was hell without a union," and that the USWA was voted in by an overwhelming margin in 1988.

Company violence against strikers

Local 9226 went on strike last September 19 over issues including health insurance payments, which Trinity wants to raise up to \$71 a week, and wages and pensions.

Darden and Roberts emphasized the violence that has been used against the strike

by the company and local police forces. A leaflet produced by the local explains, "Since forcing us out on strike, Trinity has used tear gas, court injunctions, mass firings, private detectives, false arrests, and strikebreakers in attempts to break the strike."

"As soon as we went on strike, they called in these thugs with little GI Joe outfits and built guard shacks making the place look like a prison yard," Darden said. He described a tear-gas attack on the picket line that took place on October 12.

Darden said that the courts and the police have been conspicuously lenient in their treatment of strikebreakers and company security thugs who carry out acts of violence.

Roberts said that only about 10 union members have crossed the line. Darden reported to the meeting that a union in Puerto Rico recently sent a check for \$100 to the strike fund.

Dan Stidham, president of USWA Local 5668, which recently carried out a successful fight after being locked out at Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation in West Virginia, gave greetings to the meeting and welcomed the Trinity strikers. Stidham said that his local had decided to try to win former strikebreakers, who now work alongside them, to the union. "Out of 140 scabs hired during the lockout, 71 have taken the union oath," he said. Frank Romano from the communications department of the USWA international office in Pittsburgh also addressed the meeting.

Television station KDKA covered the event and interviewed Darden and Roberts.

A second meeting, held that evening on the campus, attracted 45 people. One professor brought his entire class. The event was covered by the campus radio station.

During the discussion period, a student remarked that she thought the steelworkers were well-paid, and that many college graduates make less. Darden said that "it's a shame that America is like that" and that college graduates can't find decent jobs, and that a successful strike by the Trinity



Militant/Sheila Ostrow

Steelworkers on strike against Trinity Industries got warm welcome from other unionists during tour of Pittsburgh area, including from Ravenswood aluminum workers who recently won fight against company lockout. Above, strikers and supporters display Ravenswood Steelworkers local jacket.

workers will benefit others who are fighting for decent wages and working conditions.

Response from workers

In addition to speaking on the campus, Darden and Roberts received solidarity from working people in the area who they were able to reach. They spoke to USWA members changing shifts at Trinity Industries

in Butler, Pennsylvania, where they got a good response from the workers whose contract expires March 1. The two strikers, along with other supporters, also handed out leaflets and spoke with workers at a non-union Trinity plant in McKees Rock, Pennsylvania.

Local 1141 of the USWA at Jessop Steel near Pittsburgh helped organize a plant-gate collection for the Trinity strikers. Darden and Roberts also received a warm reception when they visited a picket line of striking municipal workers who are organized by Teamsters Local 205 in Plum Borough, Pennsylvania.

Sheila Ostrow is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 7242 at Stylette Plastics.

Mine union, four companies extend contract

BY JOHN HAWKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — As the scheduled expiration of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) neared, UMWA president Richard Trumka announced January 25 a 60-day extension of the contract with four coal companies.

The four companies — Drummond Coal and Jim Walter Resources of Alabama, the USX subsidiary U.S. Steel Mining, and Westmoreland Coal — are all medium-size coal producers and members of the Independent Bituminous Coal Bargaining Alliance (IBCBA).

Drummond and Jim Walter have the bulk of their mining operations in Alabama where they operate 11 mines, the overwhelming majority of the unionized operations in this state.

"The discussions between the UMWA and the IBCBA have been constructive," Trumka said in a press release. "Given that the UMWA and IBCBA are examining issues that have never been addressed in any set of contract talks before, these negotiations are taking a little longer to complete." Negotiations between the UMWA and the IBCBA began Oct. 5, 1992.

The chairperson of the IBCBA's negotiating team, Drummond Co. president Douglas Dahl, said the 60-day extension "reflects the spirit of the collaborative efforts."

Since Trumka's announcement officials of UMWA District 20, which covers Alabama, have been discussing the signing of "me too" agreements with several smaller operators who are not part of the IBCBA, committing them in advance to the terms of the anticipated UMWA-IBCBA pact.

Mineworkers discuss extension

Word of the contract extension began to reach UMWA members here some days before the formal announcement. District officials convened a meeting of local union officers to inform them of the decision, and a number of locals then met to discuss it. Reaction among UMWA members was varied.

"I don't like this extension thing one bit," said one miner coming off the afternoon shift at Jim Walter Resources Number 7 Mine. "It looks to me if you were going to have an extension then you should have everything that goes with the contract. But they're going to work us down there with no sick days, no personal days, and no holidays."

"I'd rather be on strike than down there without a contract," he said.

Several workers at Jim Walter Number 7 expressed frustration over the lack of reliable information on the negotiations.

"A lot of rumors are going around," one miner said. "The foremen are saying the company is going for a lot of changes in the contract — a seven-day workweek, some of our holidays, and an 80-20 medical plan. But the union isn't telling us anything."

At Drummond Co.'s Mary Lee 2 Mine a miner coming off the day shift summed up the thinking of many. "Five years is long enough for them to figure out what they want to do," he said, referring to the current contract, which was signed in 1988. "It doesn't seem to me like 60 days is going to make any difference."

At Jim Walter Resources Number 5 Mine one worker explained "I'm not ready for a strike; you never are. But we should go out if we don't have a contract, especially if they go out up north. It's not good for us to be split up like that."

Others at Jim Walter Number 5 and other mines said they had not made up their minds about the extension yet. Some expressed relief that they would continue to work in the event of a strike against the BCOA companies.

"Whatever happens February 1," said one miner at Jim Walter Number 5, "we have to be on our guard. From what we hear Jim Walter is playing hard cop in these negotiations and that jibes with what we see down here every day."

"We had three shift meetings where the extension got discussed. But people wanted to talk about more than that — about the safety conditions in the mine, the bosses working, and about the overtime we're

forced to work while we have people laid-off.

"Maybe we can use this 60 days to go after some of those problems too."

Radio tapes show cops beat Rodney King to punish him

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — According to a previously undisclosed police radio transcript, Rodney King was beaten as punishment for trying to outrun police cars, not because he allegedly resisted while being beaten.

In the recorded radio conversation, a police dispatcher asks a fire department dispatcher to send an ambulance for King, explaining, "He pissed us off, so I guess he needs an ambulance."

The fire dispatcher responds, "Little attitude adjustment?"

The cop replies "Yeah, we had to chase him. . . . I think he kind of irritated us a little."

The fire dispatcher asks, "Why would you want to do that for?"

With a laugh, the cop answers, "They should know better than to run. They are going to pay a price when they do that."

The transcript of the conversation is in the hands of the government lawyers who are now preparing the federal prosecution of the four cops who were videotaped beating and stomping King. A copy was obtained by the *Los Angeles Times*. The paper said it did not know why the exchange had not been made public earlier, or why it had not been used as evidence in the state trial, in which the police were acquitted on all but a single count.

A federal prosecutor declined to comment on whether the tape would be used in the upcoming trial, or if the two dispatchers would be called on to testify.

The *Times* said the transcript "provides fresh insights into the working atmosphere that night among public safety employees who did not yet realize that the beating had

been captured on videotape." The paper continued, "police and fire dispatchers joked and laughed about the incident before sending an ambulance to the scene."

The *Times* also obtained a transcript of King's testimony before the federal grand jury which indicted the four cops on charges of violating his civil rights. It was the first and only time so far he has been able to testify about what was done to him. In the state trial King was not called to the witness stand.

King frankly told the grand jury that he was intoxicated that night and was speeding when the state police car pulled up behind him. He tried to outrun the cop because he was on parole at the time. He was, he testified, "nervous and scared. I was scared of going back to prison, going back to jail."

King added that once he stopped, he fully complied with police commands and never threatened or attacked them. But when he suffered the shock of high voltage Taser guns he tried to run away. He was stopped by a blow to his head and the beating and stomping continued.

Meanwhile, in federal court Judge John Davies rejected a defense motion that the prosecution be required to prove racism was the motivating factor in the police assault on King in order to establish that his civil rights were violated.

The prosecution will restrict its case to establishing that the cops violated King's Fourth Amendment right to be safe from the intentional use of unreasonable force during an arrest.

Selection of the jury was slated to begin February 3.

Buchanan develops rightist themes in push for Republican Party resurrection

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

Patrick Buchanan, who challenged George Bush for the Republican nomination during the U.S. presidential race, returned to print in a recent article that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* and elsewhere. Buchanan again presents the rightist themes of the "family, faith, and country" demagoguery that marked his election campaign.

The January 21 article is entitled "The Coming Resurrection of the GOP," referring to the Republican Party. Buchanan is also completing a book called *America First: The War for the Soul of the GOP*. Criticizing Republican leaders for "appeasement" toward the Bill Clinton administration, he calls for right-wing forces in the Republican Party to rally to the banner of a "cultural war," a slogan he raised at his speech to the Republican convention last August.

Departing Republican Party chairman Richard Bond, in a January 29 speech to the meeting that elected a new chair, singled out Buchanan's recent article as an example of "zealotry masquerading as principle," which he called on the party to move away from.

Buchanan is not simply a conservative politician. He campaigns with the aim of assembling forces to build an ultraright movement that can be accurately described as fascist. Buchanan uses radical demagoguery based on the politics of resentment, scapegoating sections of the working class for the current economic and social crisis of the capitalist system. He has received a hearing from middle-class elements and some working people who are reeling from the effects of this crisis.

Echoing the theme of his presidential campaign, Buchanan's article calls for "putting America first." He commends President Clinton for "barricading Haiti" and continuing the Bush policy of forcibly returning Haitian refugees who seek asylum in the United States.

Anti-immigrant demagoguery

He decries "the greatest overland invasion in history," referring to immigration from Latin America. Buchanan has previously called for building a giant fence along the U.S.-Mexico border, and the mobilization of the armed forces to detain immigrants.

Together with the calculated appeals to Jew-hatred he has made in the past, Buchanan's anti-immigrant demagoguery is part of his definition of who are and are not "Americans."

He cites the May 1992 anti-police brutality riot in Los Angeles and the August 1991 social explosion by the Black community in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, New York, as an argument that "domestic security is everywhere at risk." He spelled out his solution in a speech given last May at Liberty University in Virginia: "To recapture America's culture and our country from the new barbarism. . . . As we took back the streets of Los Angeles block by block, so we must take back our cities, our culture, and our country."

Joining the battles over gay rights and a woman's right to choose abortion, in his latest article Buchanan castigates Jack Kemp and other conservative leaders who

"abandon traditional values" by "reaching out" to pro-abortion and gayrights Republicans with one hand, stiff-arming the Christian right with the other."

Buchanan invoked the themes of faith and "family values" even more aggressively in his speech to the Republican convention, where he declared, "There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America."

In a syndicated column last September where he defended that convention speech, he dismissed a statement by the National Council of Churches that "God belongs to no one side, for we believe we all belong to God." Buchanan insistently asked, "Whose side is God on?" The answer, of course, is "we Americans," as defined by Buchanan and his cohorts.

Along the same nationalist lines, Buchanan calls for protectionist sanctions against Airbus Industrie, a European-based airplane manufacturer that competes with Boeing. "What is wrong with using access to America's immense market to force adversary traders to open up to our goods? What is wrong with putting America first?" he asks.

Another target of Buchanan's recent article is so-called special interests, the government bureaucracy, and corrupt politicians — also a common strand in radical right-wing rhetoric. Posing as the champion of the little guy, he rails against "the modern money-changers in the temple — the lobbyists, foreign and domestic — buying and selling public policy in the corridors of power." He singles out new commerce secretary Ron Brown, "rain-maker for Baby Doc [Duvalier], lawyer-lobbyist for the Empire of the Sun." Brown has previously lobbied in Washington for the governments of Haiti and Japan.

Buchanan points to the radical rhetoric of Ross Perot's presidential campaign and urges targeting Perot voters for support. "The essence of the Perot appeal is anti-Washington, anti-Big Government, populist and patriotic," he notes.

Break-up of traditional politics

All of Buchanan's positions are simply an extension of what other capitalist politicians

say. He states openly and unapologetically what others in the White House and Congress say in private or less sharply. In fact, in his article Buchanan observes that President Clinton himself favors gutting welfare, backs the death penalty, and is turning back Haitian refugees.

Buchanan is not pushing the Republican and Democratic parties to the right. The rise

credible alternative. Nor do the labor officials offer any answers to defend working people against the effects of the depression caused by capitalism — they only echo the "America First" arguments of the employers.

This rightist politician is not seeking short-term electoral gains. His goal is not popularity in today's public opinion. Buchanan is trying to recruit cadres to his movement. His perspective looks forward to the mass social clashes of the future, not backward to a nostalgic past.

In his *Wall Street Journal* article, for example, he explains his perspective in opposing abortion rights: "We have to fight on for the right to life of the unborn, even if defeats lie ahead. For it is in struggle that we define ourselves, that we call forth, by our conviction and courage, the converts and recruits who will one day win the battles that we could not."

Buchanan continues to function mainly in the existing bourgeois political arena. His article presents a perspective for winning control of the Republican Party. "What America needs is not a new third party but a fighting second party that will confront" its opponents, he argues. In this context he calls for winning over those attracted to Perot.

If, however, "Republicans abandon traditional values, it is not the values that will be abandoned but the party — for a new party with the will to fight," he warns.

While keeping one foot planted squarely in electoral politics, Buchanan appeals to those who want to function outside that framework, fighting in the streets to impose their rightist solutions. The social crisis in the United States has spawned other ultraright forces such as Operation Rescue and the Lambs of Christ.

Because of the decline of capitalism and the shake-up of the bipartisan political system, Buchanan and others like him will not go away. These reactionary forces are a deadly enemy to working people. The challenge for the labor movement is to meet every one of their arguments and attacks head-on.



Haitian refugees. Buchanan urges anti-immigrant policies and commends Clinton for "barricading Haiti."

of this incipient fascist current is the product of the rightward movement of both capitalist parties in a period of growing economic depression and political crisis. It underlines the beginning of the break-up of the traditional bourgeois politics and bipartisan stability of the past four decades.

This is why Buchanan and other right-wing forces were able to take the initiative and set the tone at the Republican convention in August.

Buchanan gains a hearing for his fascist demagoguery because other Democratic and Republican party politicians present no

Clinton's inaugural address sought to lower expectations of millions of working people

BY PAUL MAILHOT

Tucked in with the rhetoric about "celebrating the mystery of American renewal," President Bill Clinton's January 20 inaugural address contained many assertions making a clear message that working people should be prepared to sacrifice for the "good of the nation."

Clinton's premier speech was aimed at lowering the expectations of millions of working people who are hoping for some relief from the continuing economic crisis. "It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing from our government," he said.

The new president's calls for "renewal" of the country and "responsibility" from all citizens received high marks from the nation's big-business press. "In an attempt to prepare the nation for some of the budget-tightening measures he will propose in coming weeks," commented *Wall Street Journal* writer Jeffrey Birnbaum, "Mr. Clinton added to the feel-good themes of his campaign a cautionary note: Responsibility will mean some sacrifice in the new, globally competitive world."

"It is good to hear a Democratic President talking about responsibility," stated a heartened *Journal* editorial.

On the domestic front Clinton stated that

the economy was beset by "increasing business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our people." As a solution to these problems the president urged new investments and government spending cuts to reduce the massive deficit. How to do both at the same time? "It will require sacrifice," he said. Sensing that such calls are always seen as falling on the shoulders of working people, Clinton added in the next breath, "it can be done and done fairly."

On how to confront joblessness, which continues to mount in the middle of an economic recovery, Clinton had nothing to say. He did, however, urge young people to begin donating their labor. "I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service," he said.

Foreign policy problems

Clinton's inaugural address also underlined his intention to continue policies of military intervention abroad. Echoing the theme developed many times by the Bush administration, Clinton declared, "When our vital interests are challenged or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary."

Clinton blamed "profound and powerful forces" for shaking and remaking the world, thereby threatening the livelihood of all in the United States. He explained that the United States — meaning U.S. businesses — must compete to stay on top. In that competition, which is increasingly leading to trade wars and shooting wars, Clinton called upon working people to "not shrink from the challenges."

All in the same boat

Dismissing the existence of any class differences in the United States, Clinton urged all citizens — rich and poor alike — to share in the sacrifice. "Put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America," he said, adding "we need each other and we must care for one another."

Clinton's inaugural address promoted "change" as the solution to the country's problems. The "change" he is talking about is surely designed to make working people pay for the current crisis. We must "force the spring," Clinton admonished. As the new administration begins to implement its program of shared sacrifice, it is a change of season working people will not be looking forward to.

Buchananism: What it is and how to fight it



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Behind the rising attacks on immigrants

How capitalism scapegoats the foreign-born to keep all workers divided

BY MARK CURTIS

FORT MADISON, Iowa — The year 1992 saw a rise in attacks on immigrant workers around the world. From the dramatic lynch-mob assaults and murders of foreigners in Germany to the arrests and deportations of immigrants in the United States, this campaign has recently become much more aggressive.

Fueling these attacks is a campaign of propaganda created by the capitalist bosses of blaming immigrants for unemployment, social breakdowns, and environmental destruction — in short, for the world economic crisis.

Are immigrants to blame for the shape of the world economy? If they aren't, who is? And what should the attitude of workers living in one country be toward the millions of others who cross borders to live and find work?

On Sept. 22, 1992, one of the largest immigration raids in U.S. history took place in Grand Island, Nebraska. Two hundred armed agents of the FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and other police swooped down on the Monfort meat-packing plant. Some 300 workers were arrested, many deported back to Mexico. The raid came during a union-organizing drive in the plant.

INS agents nabbed Augustín Antúnez, 15, and Ambrosio López, 17, November 9 while they attended Omaha South High School in Omaha, Nebraska. The boys were dumped on the Mexican side of the border and left without their parents.

Two weeks later and thousands of miles away in Germany, three Turkish immigrants died during a firebomb attack on their home. Right-wing radicals on a violent anti-foreigner campaign murdered the two girls and their grandmother.

Anti-immigrant violence in Germany began last summer. In some attacks, mobs a thousand strong attacked apartments and homes of foreigners. "Germany for the Germans!" and "Foreigners Out!" have been slogans heard during the attacks. In many cases, German police have not defended the victims from these attacks. While verbally condemning the violence, the only real action the government has taken is to tighten the laws on immigration and to ban some political groups. This has given the go ahead to the thugs committing the violence.

Scapegoating

In the United States, there have also been growing calls to change the laws concerning how immigrants may enter the U.S. and live their lives here. The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) issued a call in several national magazines for a "Moratorium on Immigration" until new laws can be passed by Congress. FAIR blames immigrants for "... overpopulation and a deterioration of the American standard of living." Immigration has "... severely set back many of the nation's environmental goals," they state. Using a questionable deduction method, FAIR claims, "Not surprisingly, unemployment in every major immigrant-receiving state in America is higher than the national average."

Last summer, the magazine *National Re-*

view published a long article by Peter Brimelow titled "Time to Rethink Immigration?" Brimelow advocates a change in U.S. immigration law in who may immigrate. "Pulling up the ladder," he says, "may be necessary — if the lifeboat is about to capsize." Brimelow's main worry — the capsize of his lifeboat — is that most immigrants coming to the United States today are not coming from Europe, are not white, and are not being assimilated by "American culture." His answer is to "shift the ethnic balance back."

Racism surfaced in the presidential election campaigns of some candidates, notably Patrick Buchanan. Englishmen, said Buchanan, would make better immigrants than Zulus because "... they would be easier to assimilate and cause less problems..." Buchanan's 10-point platform on "illegals" called for building a 200-mile-long fine-mesh fence on the U.S.-Mexico border. Referring to the Los Angeles riots he complained that "foreigners are coming into this country illegally and helping to burn down one of the greatest cities in America."

From all "respectable" corners of U.S. society, it seems, immigrants are coming under fire for supposedly cheating on welfare, overuse of medical care, bringing in diseases (especially AIDS), and committing crimes. In the *Los Angeles Times*, Otis L. Graham Jr. and Roy Beck argue that immigrant workers have taken jobs away from U.S.-born workers, especially from Blacks. "We should not have to rediscover," they write, "that massive immigration widens the divide between wealth and poverty, storing up social dynamite, especially diminishing life for African-Americans."

They blame fellow workers from another country — not the cops who beat Rodney King — for the "social forces behind the [Los Angeles] riots." Apparently blind to the U.S. government's hostility toward affirmative action programs, Graham and Beck put the blame on immigration, declaring "Affirmative action... must not be shared with recently arrived, foreign-born people."

There is a name for placing the blame where it doesn't belong — *scapegoating*.

This propaganda shows the level of hatred and fear that the ruling class and their media mouthpieces have for the people who do the work. It is intended to confuse us and make us oppose and despise the very people we need to be joining with to organize to fight for our rights.

Capitalism is based on competition

The real cause of unemployment is not workers, either native- or foreign-born. Capitalism is a system based on competition: competition between capitalist-owned businesses for markets, and competition between workers for jobs. The owners of business and industry find it to their advantage to have more workers available than there are jobs. A surplus labor pool of men and women looking for work is used every day against those who do have a job. If you're working but can be easily replaced by someone who is willing to do the job for less, it's a powerful weapon to intimidate you, to keep you "in your place."

Under capitalism workers are forced into competition with each other as everyone struggles to avoid being thrown into the pool of surplus labor — becoming unemployed. This competition also makes the working class susceptible to racism, sexism, and bigotry. This further divides and confuses, preventing us from uniting in a common fight for our rights.

Keeping a surplus labor pool is essential for the capitalists. Their economic system has always used immigration to meet their needs for exploiting labor power to the fullest. In spite of their propaganda, they have no plans to end immigration. Their aim is to create a superexploited group of workers who can be worked harder, paid lower, and kept more intimidated than the rest of the work force. If the ruling class's propaganda can create popular opinion that these workers are somehow unworthy of the rights others enjoy, then they will have a powerful weapon against us.

To see how successful the capitalists have been in creating a superexploited pool of immigrant labor, look at conditions for farm



Immigration cop frisking garment workers after a raid in California. Capitalist rulers aim to create a superexploited group of workers that can be worked harder, paid lower, and kept more intimidated than rest of work force.

workers, many of whom are foreign-born. Accounting for inflation, the already low average farm worker's wage declined 2 percent from 1986 to 1991. Congress has passed laws that exempt many owners of big plantation-like farms from providing their workers with overtime pay, housing with toilets, unemployment insurance, workers' compensation for injuries on the job, and the right to form unions.

A *Des Moines Register* article described the housing conditions for migrant workers on Iowa farms. "The housing is extremely inadequate and they're paying real high rents for practically nothing," one job training service worker said. "Some have no running water, no screens on windows." One woman and her nine children were found sleeping in their car in a parking lot.

Lowering the value of labor power

What would persuade workers to accept conditions like these? The fear of deportation, separation of families, violence by thugs working for the owners, and a lack of solidarity among workers with those labeled "aliens," intimidate many from demanding better pay and working conditions. In the United States immigrants are often forced to accept low-wage jobs in the garment, housekeeping, fruit and vegetable harvesting, restaurant, and day labor industries.

The value of their labor power is lower, not because they don't work hard, but because social factors like discrimination and prejudice make it acceptable for them to be paid less.

If competition between workers provides the basis for this discrimination, wouldn't stopping immigration help solve the problem? No. Joining in the calls to end immigration will only strengthen foreigner-bashing and give it legitimacy. It can only add confusion as to the real cause of unemployment and allow the capitalists to scapegoat immigrants. This would divide us even further.

Instead, the answer lies in the unity of the working class. This is where our class strength comes from. Some recent actions show us the way. In the 1980s, meat-packing companies waged war on their workers, driving down wages, working conditions, and safety, while speeding up the line. They hoped to use immigrant workers to split the work force and prevent successful strikes. This only had limited success, and in some cases the bosses became overconfident. Workers were able to unite, and foreign-born workers stood shoulder to shoulder with their brothers and sisters born in the United States.

Swift raid

On March 4, 1988, INS police raided the Swift meat-packing plant in Des Moines, Iowa. Seventeen workers, most from Mexico, were arrested and jailed, supposedly for using false documents to get a job. However, Swift and the government underestimated these workers and the support they would

get. A week and a half after the raid, several hundred people marched in downtown Des Moines to demand freedom for the "Swift 17." Eventually the men were all released and charges were dropped.

I was working on the line at Swift the day of the raid. As the cops grabbed the men one by one, a discussion broke out about whether or not it was a good thing. Some workers applauded the arrests of the "illegals." But others didn't like what they saw happening. Their class instinct told them that these men did the same job they did, and caught hell from the same boss. If getting a job to feed yourself and your family was a crime, it was one we were all guilty of.

Three days after the raid, the immigrant workers still working in the plant demonstrated that they were not just victims of the police, but also fighters and leaders. A meeting had been scheduled for the afternoon to discuss a response to the raid. When the company reneged on its agreement to let us attend the meeting, the Mexican workers on the kill floor walked off the line. This stopped production pretty fast and forced management to allow the meeting to be rescheduled for a time we could be present.

The example of the fight to defend the Swift 17 and the examples being set by the massive demonstrations in Germany against the violence point the way forward. They should be studied and repeated.

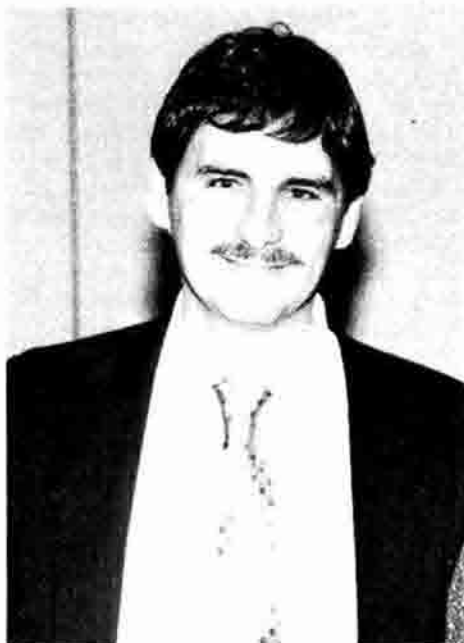
Immigration strengthens working class

The anti-immigrant campaign is certain to remain a central political question for working people around the world. As the world economic and social crisis deepens, millions more will be compelled to leave their homes as refugees of poverty, persecution, and war. The working class is an international class. As this latest wave of immigration changes the composition of the work force in dozens of countries, we grow stronger. Immigrant workers bring with them the experiences of workers in their home country. Many of the Haitians, for example, who are trying and dying to enter the United States, bring with them the experience of overthrowing the dictatorship of "Baby Doc" Duvalier in 1986, and they are now fighting a new military dictatorship.

This puts us in a stronger position now to fight for the rights of all by defending immigrant workers now. Solidarity and internationalism, not competition and nationalism, are the way forward.

Ultimately this dog-eat-dog competition must be ended by the working class and replaced by socialism — a world without borders.

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist serving a 25-year sentence on frame-up charges of burglary and sexual abuse in John Bennett Correctional Center, Fort Madison, Iowa.



Militant/Linda Marcus

Mark Curtis in September 1988, prior to being imprisoned.

Pathfinder features valuable books for Black History Month

BY ERIC SIMPSON

Pathfinder's Black History Month promotional poster, already sent to 4,500 bookstores and libraries around the world, highlights books by Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, and Ernesto Che Guevara. Also displayed is *New International* no. 7, featuring the article "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq."

"Many working people are looking for ways to fight against Washington's wars and the deepening attacks on living standards and rights at home," said Norton Sandler, director of business and promotion for the New York-based publishing house. "They seek out books that point a road forward."

One of the books featured in the poster is *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, a collection of speeches and writings by the young revolutionary leader of the West African country of Burkina Faso who was assassinated in 1987.

Sankara explained the course working people and the oppressed must take to throw off imperialist domination and fight their way out of underdevelopment. His words address the same challenge confronting working people in Somalia, who face economic and social devastation caused by capitalism as well as occupation by foreign troops.

Sankara, who led the people of Burkina Faso in a massive fight for self-sufficiency in food production, inspired workers and farmers with confidence in their capacity to transform society and their own consciousness.

"For the new society," Sankara said, "we must have a new people, a people that has its own identity, knows what it wants and how to assert itself, and understands what will be necessary to reach the goals it has set for itself." He continued, "The democratic and popular revolution needs a convinced people, not a conquered people — a

people that is truly convinced, not submissive and passively enduring its destiny."

Similarly, Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the African National Congress are fighting to carry through a mass-driven revolutionary perspective in South Africa today. The political ideas inspiring the social movement that is shaking the foundations of apartheid can be found in Mandela's political autobiography, *The Struggle Is My Life*.

"Since my release," Mandela said at a 1990 mass rally included in this Pathfinder collection, "I have become more convinced than ever that the real makers of history are the ordinary men and women of our country; their participation in every decision about the future is the only guarantee of true democracy and freedom."

In the article entitled "Opening Guns of World War III," the Marxist magazine *New International* examines the conflicts among imperialist powers that were intensified by the U.S.-led war against Iraq and that dominate politics today. Working people around the world face a period of wars, depression, and sharp political polarization, states the author, Jack Barnes, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He adds that in the large-scale struggles of the coming years, workers and farmers will have their chance to take power out of the hands of the capitalist warmakers.

Other books by Malcolm X

"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter," Malcolm X said in a speech to 1,500 students at Barnard College, just three days before his assassination in 1965.

February 1965: The Final Speeches, also



Pathfinder's new Black History Month promotional poster

featured on the poster, presents the accelerating evolution of Malcolm's political views during the last three weeks of his life. More than 17,000 copies of the book, which was released in November, have been sold. The book has already been adopted as a text in six universities across the country.

This title is the initial volume in a series

that will collect, in chronological order, the major interviews, speeches, and writings of Malcolm X.

Copies of the poster and a Pathfinder catalog can be obtained by writing Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Orders should include \$2 to cover postage and handling.

Ohio residents win round in fight against toxic waste incinerator plant

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

EAST LIVERPOOL, Ohio — An overflow crowd of more than 500 rallied here January 17 to celebrate winning a temporary injunction against a scheduled test burn by the Waste Technologies Industries (WTI) incinerator. The rally filled the gym of the East Elementary School, which is only 1,100 feet from the toxic waste incinerator.

This community on the Ohio River, 40 miles west of Pittsburgh, has been fighting the incinerator since plans to build it were first announced 13 years ago.

East Liverpool, once a major pottery-producing center of the United States, has been devastated by the closing of all but three of some two dozen pottery factories, as well as the collapse of the region's steel and coal industries.

The \$160 million facility is scheduled to go on-line this year, employing 125 people and burning 60,000 tons of hazardous waste a year. It is in the middle of a working-class neighborhood, in an area that already has dangerously high levels of industrial pollutants.

A huge banner at the rally said "Ohio Valley Children Thank Clinton and Gore." The audience applauded when speakers praised Vice-president Al Gore for his December 7 promise to make sure there was a full congressional investigation before the plant was allowed to begin commercial operation. But they also applauded when an environmental activist from Antioch College said he did not like "pleading with people hundreds of miles away, saying 'thank you, thank you, thank you, even though you haven't done anything yet.'" One coalition leader said that when the company pushed to schedule a massive test burn for January 17, Clinton administration representatives advised those opposing the test burn to "sit tight" because they supposedly couldn't do anything before the January 20 presidential inauguration. "Maybe they were a little bit surprised," she went on, to ap-

plause and laughter, "when we went ahead and did stop it."

Delegations came to the rally from a dozen or more additional communities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia that are fighting against toxic waste facilities. Carloads came from several Michigan cities, including Milan, where a massive WTI-type facility is in the planning stages.

The protests against WTI have involved large demonstrations, lawsuits, outreach to other areas, and some well-publicized civil disobedience actions. The January 17 rally, like previous actions, drew many students and many retired workers, as well as a cross-section of others.

In the course of the long struggle against WTI, workers, housewives, and retirees have taught themselves scientific know-how. They can reel off the names and explain the characteristics of dangerous chemicals and their side effects.

Several speakers, answering full-page ads WTI ran in newspapers around the country in December, took on the argument that protecting working people's health can only come at the expense of jobs. One speaker pointed out that the facility will never provide more than 125 jobs and that those will involve technical skills the vast majority of unemployed in the region do not have.

Another speaker had studied 13 towns with hazardous waste facilities and reported that the population of every one of them declined in the decade after the facility was built, as other industries fled. "A company that treats the environment as a disposable commodity also treats its workers as disposable commodities," said a speaker from central Ohio.

More than 150 people have been arrested at civil disobedience actions at the plant over the last six months. After the rally, participants drove past the city jail to salute two women currently serving sentences there.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

PAT SMITH

Pathfinder is celebrating Black History Month in February with a promotion effort featuring books by revolutionary leaders that will help young fighters understand how to fight effectively against Washington's war drive abroad and austerity at home.

Some 4,500 bookstores and libraries in the United States have been mailed Pathfinder's Black History Month poster, and hundreds of bookstores have been phoned by Pathfinder sales representatives to encourage them to buy and promote Pathfinder titles during Black History Month.

During February, Pathfinder Readers Club members can purchase a range of books at a 25 percent discount. See page 11 for details.

The Pathfinder Readers Club took a leap forward in the last three months of 1992 with supporters at Pathfinder bookstores signing up 106 new members. Leaders in the field were the Los Angeles and New York bookstores, which signed up 27 and 17 new members respectively.

The Pathfinder Readers Club is an international club with members in a growing number of countries around the world. In addition to the United States, there are club members in Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, Turkey, and Venezuela. The mail this week brought a request to sign up from a reader in Durban, South Africa.

Just off the press is *Habla Malcolm X* — the most comprehensive collection in Spanish of speeches, interviews, and writings by Malcolm X. *Habla Malcolm X* can be bought from Pathfinder bookstores (see page 12 for locations), or ordered directly from Pathfinder.

Publishers Weekly, the major U.S. book trade magazine, recently featured an article on publishers of Spanish-language books in the United States. The article included a section on Pathfinder Press, describing it as a publisher "that specializes in the works of revolutionary and working-class leaders such as Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro and Leon Trotsky, [and that] has been offering

Spanish-language books since the late 1970s." The article announced the publication of *Habla Malcolm X*.

The Minneapolis YMCA "Connecting with Africa" conference last year distributed a resource packet to conference attendees that included a "recommended reading" list compiled by Uhuru Books and the Twin Cities Pathfinder bookstore. The recommended Pathfinder titles were *The Coming Revolution in South Africa*; *Apartheid's Great Land Theft: The Struggle for the Right to Farm in South Africa*; *Nelson Mandela: Speeches 1990*; *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle*; and *The Struggle Is My Life*.

Pathfinder books and pamphlets get promoted in many different ways, as the previous item indicates. Some other recent examples:

- The January 1993 issue of *The College News*, a Chicago-wide student newspaper, reviewed *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, calling it a compilation of "a few of Malcolm X's most memorable speeches."

- In a letter to the editor of the *Post Standard* newspaper in Syracuse, New York George E.B. Shabazz wrote, "I wish that all parents and children would read at least one book outlining the thinking of Malcolm X between Thanksgiving and Christmas. The book I would recommend would be *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* in the United States, Britain and Africa. Parents who have never read a book to their children or discussed a book with their children should go to their local library for instruction."

- The December issue of the *Yorkshire Miner*, the paper of the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain, ran a review by miner Jim Spaul on *The Eastern Airlines Strike*.

- Pathfinder's press release announcing the publication of *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End* has, to date, been printed by eight local newspapers in Connecticut, California, Missouri, and New York.

Sweden: workers demonstrate for the unemployed

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles.

Construction workers organized a rally in the center of Stockholm, Sweden, January 14 to protest gov-

Metalworkers union, Leif Blomberg, said at a meeting with unemployed workers in Timrå. "If the government doesn't come to its senses, there is nothing left but a political strike."

The budget for 1993, which was released January 11, shows that it is the government's intention to let the unemployed and people injured at work pay for the crisis. The government proposes cutting unemployment benefits — from 90 percent of wages down to 80 percent — with no benefits the first week

workers, most of whom are women. They work 12-hour shifts for a base pay rate of 1.25 tala (US\$0.50) per hour. The factory, which makes electrical wiring harnesses for cars, accounts for some 80 percent of Western Samoa's export income. The population of Western Samoa is 180,000.

On the first day of the walkout, 200 strikers picketed at the factory gates. Even though the gathering was entirely peaceful, with the workers singing songs and getting out their message, police ordered them to disperse, and attacked the picket line with force. Seven workers were arrested, including one who received a gash to the forehead as she was shoved into a police vehicle.

The remaining workers then decided to march on the parliament buildings, some five miles away, where they called on the prime minister to address the issue of the strike. When the prime minister appeared, he denounced the strike and told the workers to go back to work.

The Yazaki Workers Association was formed in mid-1992, as a breakaway from an employees' organization set up by the company. In December it was legally registered as an incorporated society and at the time the strike began it had some 800 members.

Union president, Saafila Leota, described her dismissal as an attempt "to break up the union." She said that company officials had lectured her on the dangers of having unions in Samoa.

As of January 27, Yazaki has dismissed 400 of the strikers, and attempts to resolve the dispute

have failed. The union estimates that several hundred replacement workers have been hired since the strike began.

Oil workers rally to press contract fight

Two hundred members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union demonstrated at the Bay Area offices of Chevron, Unocal, and Tosco Refining Company January 18 demanding that Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday be a paid holiday. The actions were organized by OCAW locals 1-5 and 1-326. The King holiday proposal is part of the package of demands presented to oil companies by the OCAW's national oil bargaining council. Three hundred contracts between the union and oil and chemical companies expire January 31.

At the Chevron headquarters workers also carried signs demanding a national health plan and opposition to any lump sum bonus proposal. There was near unanimous opposition to the oil companies' offer of a total 6.5 percent pay increase over three years and minimum increases in company payments to health-care plans.

One worker from Chevron said, "Lots of companies plead poverty when it's contract time. But nobody in the world believes the oil companies are going under. They're making big profits."

After picketing Chevron, the oil workers marched to offices of Unocal.

Boston Gas workers face company lockout

Some 950 members of United Steelworkers of America Local 12003 are locked out of work by the Boston Gas Co. in a fight against concessions. Informational picket lines went up January 25 at a number of sites in and around Boston, including at the company's corporate headquarters in the busy downtown area.

Medical coverage is seen as the major issue in the dispute. Other points of contention include the size of crews, medical benefits for retirees, and sub-contracting of work. The lockout includes clerical, service, street, and maintenance workers. Five hundred managers and sub-contractors are being used by the company to keep production going.

According to Marie McGinley, who has worked for 20 years at the company, Boston Gas's parent company, Eastern Enterprises, had profits of \$25 million in 1992. "Boston Gas and Eastern Enterprises and their corporate greed have locked out their workers by refusing to give us a decent health-care package. We've given concessions in the past; we don't want an inferior plan," McGinley said.

Contributors to this column include: Birgitta Isacson from Stockholm, Sweden; James Robb from Auckland, New Zealand; Omari Musa, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-326 in Rodeo, California; and Valerie Johnson, member of United Transportation Union Local 1473 in Boston.

ON THE PICKET LINE

ernment austerity programs and skyrocketing unemployment. More than 10,000 came out for the march.

"Let us work" was imprinted on many placards. Others called for a "political strike." Twenty-five percent of the construction workers in the country are now unemployed.

The chairperson of the construction workers union, Åke Wänman, addressed the rally and said that the newly published government budget "consciously lets unemployment grow." The result could be that "half of the country's construction workers are unemployed" within a year. Official statistics for December show 241,000 people with no work at all and 280,000 in different unemployment programs. The hardest hit are young people who face nearly 13 percent unemployment.

The demand for a political strike to force the government to resign is growing. The national chair of the

of unemployment; benefits will also go down for the long-term sick and people injured at work.

Local union officials at the Scania truck and bus company have agreed on a resolution published in the union paper that "Sweden is in a deep economic and political crisis, on the verge of depression. . . . Those who are sick and those who are unemployed are hardest hit. . . . If there is no change in this policy we are prepared to go out on a political strike."

Samoa workers strike over company firing

Workers at Yazaki Samoa in Western Samoa walked off the job January 13 in response to the sacking [firing] of the president of the newly organized union at the plant.

Yazaki is the country's largest private employer, with more than 1,000

Bosses slash more jobs while hailing recovery

Continued from front page for full-time employment.

Commentators have noted the strength of this economic recovery. "Growth for the second half of last year was the strongest in years," wrote John Berry in the *Washington Post*. "The economy's stronger-than-expected performance lays to rest fears that the recovery — though still not as robust as those following previous recessions — could falter again as it did a year ago."

Recovery for employers, not workers

"Despite nearly two years of expansion . . . American employers have added no more workers than absolutely necessary," explained *New York Times* writer Robert Hershey. And the situation isn't expected to improve much. A recent survey conducted by the American Management Association found that one in four companies plans to cut its work force by mid-1993, the highest rate in six years.

Massive job losses have also hit workers at some of the strongest capitalist concerns around the world. Trying to remain competitive against U.S. businesses, and respond to a downturn in their own economies, European manufacturers are slashing workers' jobs by the tens of thousands.

In France nearly 600,000 jobs were cut in 1992. Most of the large French corporations, such as Renault, computer companies Bull and IBM France, and steelmaker Usinor Sacilor, cut their work forces.

In Germany, Volkswagen, Europe's largest auto manufacturer, announced it would slash 30,000 jobs from its worldwide work force by 1994. Unemployment in western Germany is now on a par with the United States, at 7.4 percent. In eastern Germany 13.5 percent of the workers are unemployed.

Increase in productivity

Higher productivity — workers producing more goods in fewer hours — in the past year and a half of economic recovery has meant few new jobs. The fact that businesses can produce more with fewer workers is a boon for capitalists and a bust for workers. Rising productivity has pushed up corporate profits while workers' wages re-

mained stagnant. In fact, wages have either remained the same or fallen for 80 percent of U.S. households since 1989.

While U.S. capitalist families are enjoying the profits of increased productivity there is also concern that the economy might take another nosedive if some jobs aren't created. "As we all restructure, if we lay off enough people, there'll be nobody to buy the cars or the houses. So we've got to watch that this isn't a downhill spiral," said Lee Iacocca. The soon-to-retire chairman of

Chrysler Corp. presided over two rounds of massive job cuts himself in the past decade.

At the end of January Robert Reich, President Clinton's labor secretary, announced that the government would probably spend between \$15 to \$20 billion to stimulate job creation. Most of the money would go to businesses in the form of tax cuts and subsidies for job training.

Reich conceded that such an aid package would have little effect in overcoming massive unemployment. He says its main value

would be the psychological effect people would get from seeing the government do something for the unemployed.

Robert Reich, director of the Congressional Budget Office, said that the main advantage of the president's proposed stimulus plan "might be the sugar coating applied to a bitter pill." If working people felt that the government was willing to help them there might be longer-term acceptance of government calls for sacrifice to reduce the deficit, he thought.

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The U.S. government's murderous blockade, bombardment, and invasion of Iraq initiated a period of increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, more wars, and growing instability of the world capitalist system. *New Internationalist* no. 7. \$12.00

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U.S. forces launch new attacks on Somali towns

Continued from front page
World War II-vintage rifle — and had broken up a party of 20 young men who were allegedly chewing the narcotic leaf qat.

Plans for UN replacement force

With nearly 40,000 troops currently under U.S. command now in Somalia, UN and U.S. officials continue to discuss plans for replacing U.S. troops with a 20,000-strong UN force. The UN has so far secured commitments from 21 countries besides the United States to provide a total of more than 15,000 troops. The United States will add an additional 5,000 troops to provide logistical support, and also a rapid deployment force stationed offshore.

The U.S. military is hoping for a more rapid transition than the UN is ready to assume. According to Maj. Gen. Charles Wilhelm, the commander of the U.S. marines in Somalia, his troops are ready to withdraw "within weeks or days." However, UN secretary-general Boutros-Ghali has stated that it could be another six months before the UN is ready to assume military control.

The UN has yet to name a commander for the force, nor has a date for the handover of authority been set.

A Security Council resolution will also be needed to approve the broad new powers that are expected to be granted to the UN military force. According to Boutros-Ghali's special envoy for Somalia, Ismat Kittani, the resolution establishing the new UN military force will have to be extensively detailed, since UN troops will probably be in Somalia for "not months but years." The mandate envisioned for the UN force is the same as that under which U.S. troops currently operate — shoot first, and ask questions later.

The rules "are pretty broad, broader than we used in other conflicts," states Marine Col. F.M. Lorenz, who characterized the engagement rules used in Vietnam as "too restrictive." Under this setup many innocent Somalis are being shot by trigger-happy troops who claim they are acting in self-defense.

"It's like colonialism," stated Hussein Mursal, a Somali working for the British relief group, Save the Children Fund. Many Somalis, he said, "feel helpless. Who can they complain to? There should be some kind of human-rights group here."

"I wish they'd just stage a massive attack so we could kick their butts and go home," stated one of the many Marines currently stationed in Mogadishu.

U.S. setting up police force

The U.S. military is currently involved in organizing a police force in Mogadishu of up to 3,500 men, mostly from the ranks of the former national police force and high-ranking former generals and colonels.

According to the January 30 *Washington Post*, U.S. envoy Robert Oakley "said the United States was prompted to help because the United Nations was moving too slowly on plans for such a force."

"In Panama, it took a year" to form a police force, said Oakley. "We can't afford to wait." U.S. law currently prohibits the U.S. military from training or funding police forces overseas.

U.S. officials hoped that this newly armed unit can begin replacing the numerous patrols throughout the city now being carried out by U.S. marines. Among those serving on the newly formed Mogadishu Security Committee are rival military commanders Gen. Mohammed Ali Mahdi and Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid.

Meanwhile, the large quantities of rice now available on the Mogadishu market have sunk rice prices through the floor. At the end of January, it cost about \$5 to buy a 110-pound bag of rice, less than half the price in the United States.

In fact, rice is so cheap that many Somali farmers gathering their new harvest are finding no market for their grain. This has the effect of encouraging these farmers to switch to cash crops, making Somalia even more dependent on relief aid.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Clinton Presidency: Challenges Facing Youth and Trade Unionists. Speaker: Betsy Farley, national committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 6, 7 p.m., dinner 6 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$5 dinner and program, \$3 program only. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

Support Asylum for Haitian Refugees! Speaker: Evan Roberts, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 9226, on strike against Trinity Industries. Sat., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Cuba Today: Eyewitness Reports and Slide-show. Speakers: Carlos Beltrán, just returned from youth brigade to Cuba; Javier Hernandez, participant in Pastors for Peace caravan. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m., dinner 6 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Translation to Spanish.

Open U.S. Borders to Haitian Refugees. Speaker: Rodney Holt, member International Association of Machinists. Video: *Killing the Dream*. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Translation to Spanish.

San Francisco

Revolutionary Cuba Today. Speakers: Rebecca Gettleman, student, University of California, Santa Cruz; Alfredo Rico, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1179. Both just returned from youth brigade to Cuba. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

Malcolm X: The Final Speeches. Panel discussion on new book from Pathfinder Press. Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

The Fight for School Desegregation. Panel discussion including participants in *Sheff v. O'Neill* case. Sat., Feb. 6, 4 p.m. Dwight Hall, 67 High St., Yale Old Campus. Donation \$3. Tel: (203) 934-3804.

FLORIDA

Miami

Eyewitness Report and Slide Show on the Cuban Revolution Today. Speaker: Rollande Girard, just returned from youth brigade to Cuba. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Translation to French.

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CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516. Tel: (203) 772-3375.

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GEORGIA: Atlanta: 172 Trinity Ave. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2905 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Final Speeches by Malcolm X. Speakers: Vincent Forte, prof. of history at Morehouse College; Miesá Zárate, Atlanta Pathfinder bookstore, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 3944; Anthony Brown, garment worker; Verlyntae Jenkins, student, Georgia State University. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

Haiti: The Fight for Justice and the Refugees. Speakers: Wesley Madhere, Haitian Culture Society; Rev. Felix Jean-Guillaume, Haitian Ministry; G. Bellard, Haitian community activist; Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party; representatives of Clergy and Laity Concerned and Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Art and Politics of Käthe Kollwitz. Ted Klitzke, Dean Emeritus of Maryland Institute-Collage of Art will present original etchings, lithographs, woodcuts, and drawings of German socialist who depicted horrors of World Wars I and II and the plight of the working class. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Cuba Confronts the World Crisis of the 1990s. Speakers: Kari Sachs, Ramaa Hersia, both just returned from youth brigade to Cuba. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Open the Border to Haitian Refugees. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$4 program, \$5 dinner. Tel: (201) 643-3341. Translation to Spanish and French.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Open U.S. Borders to Haitian Refugees! Speakers: Carole Metellus, visited Haiti in December 1992; John Staggs, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

End the Death Penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Panel of speakers including representative of Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

OREGON

Portland

Open U.S. Borders to Haitian Refugees. Speakers: Harvey McArthur, *Militant* reporter who toured Haitian refugee camp at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba; Gary Gamer, director, Sponsors Organized to Assist Refugees, Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon; others. Wed., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. Smith Center, Room 129, Portland State University. Tel: (503) 288-0466

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Malcolm X: His Revolutionary Heritage.

NEW YORK: New York: 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8421; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 221-2691. **Cleveland:** 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

OREGON: Portland: 2310 NE 8th #1. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 288-0466.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8196. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 147 E. 900 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 523 8th St. SE. Zip: 20003. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BARBADOS

Bridgetown: P.O. Box 891. Tel: (809) 436-7723.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL.

Speakers: K.L. Shannon, Black Student Union, North Seattle; Michael Hureaux, African American Writers Association; Greg Lewis, student, Seattle Central Community College; David Warshawsky, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Translation to Spanish.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Capitalism: Hunger Amid 'Overproduction' of Food. Speaker: Ken Nelson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 242 Walnut St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The Fight Against Racism in Europe. Speaker: Marnie Kennedy, Communist League candidate for House of Representatives in the seat of Grayndler. Sat., Feb. 6, 6 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

CANADA

Vancouver

Why Are Farmers Being Driven Off the Land? Speaker: Paul Kouri, reported for *Militant* on January 26 rally in Saskatoon of 12,000 farmers demanding emergency relief, member, United Steelworkers of America. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik

Social Rights or Charity? Sat., Feb. 6, 1 p.m. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Class Conflict and Social Crisis in India. Speaker: Felicity Coggan, Communist League, member, Meat Workers Union, attended Asian Students Association conference in India in December. Sat., Feb. 6, 7 p.m. Fundraising dinner before program, 6 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3 program, \$5 dinner. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Wellington

Somalia: Aid or Invasion? Speaker: Communist League representative. Fri., Feb. 5, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

New Steps in the Fight to Free Mark Curtis. Video and speaker. Sat., Feb. 13, 6 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

What Is the Role of the United Nations in the World Today? Speaker: Kerstin Granberg, member, Metal Workers Union. Sat., Feb. 6, 4 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Tel: 071-928-7993.

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield: 1 Gower St., Spital Hill, Postal code: S47HA. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Montreal: 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto: 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

MEXICO

Mexico City: Apdo. Postal 27-575, Col. Roma Sur. Mexico D.F.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Somalis might think so too — Maj. Gen. Charles Wilhelm, U.S. Marine commander in Somalia, admonished troops who neglect to



Harry Ring

wave to Somali children, honk their horns in traffic jams, and push crowds aside while on patrol. "If we're not careful," he warned, "we will start thinking we're at war."

Guess not — Discussing his fu-

ture with the press, Dan Quayle noted that he's already been in the House and Senate, has been a vice-president, and has no desire to be a governor. What does that add up to? a reporter inquired. Responded the ex-veep: "You don't have to be real smart to figure it out."

Not all of us are doing poorly — "Major N.C. banks report good news of 1992 earnings." "First Union [Corp.] '92 income tops record." — Headlines in Greensboro, North Carolina, *News and Record*.

Land of opportunity — Apparently you also don't have to be real smart to write a book. Harper Collins publishers will pay Quayle more

than \$1 million to write his White House memoirs. In addition to regular distribution, Harper's religious subsidiary will sell the book in "Christian-oriented" markets.

The march of science — Each day, hundreds of notes seeking godly aid are stuffed into the cracks in Jerusalem's Western Wall, the holiest of Judaic shrines. Now you don't have to make the trip. The Israeli phone company has set up a fax number, promising the messages will be delivered to the wall. Not toll free.

Honest Mike — A member of Congress called on then Agriculture Secretary-designate Mike Espy to

check out the Forest Service's suppression of a report from a team of its biologists warning of the environmental damage from heavy logging in Alaska's Tongass National Forest. There was no immediate response from Espy. But earlier he told the Senate Agriculture Committee he wants to be "an honest broker" between environmentalists and commodity producers.

Protecting free trade — The U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Tokyo demanded that Japan lift restrictions on access to the Japanese market by U.S. companies, including Detroit's Big Three automakers. Meanwhile, on the same day, the Big Three declared they would press for

punitive duties on all imported cars.

Living dolls — For doll collectors, a limited-edition, hand-painted Barbie doll with hand-made clothes and human hair. \$600. Too pricey? Check out the Barbie with a dress by fashion designer Bob Mackie. \$250.

Prof or patient? — A chain of California clinics told employees it would cost them a day's pay if they showed up with a visible hickey, that telltale mark of passion. A University of California professor of clinical psychiatry justified this, explaining: "The more it's connected to sex, the more it triggers the thought of naked bodies and sex and contact."

Balkan peace talks collapse as fighting intensifies

Continued from front page

Croat armed groups that had previously been in alliance to counter attacks by Bosnian Serb forces. A Bosnian Croat spokesman termed this fighting "the biggest crisis between Muslims and Croats ever."

Since last spring, the war in Bosnia has killed an estimated 20,000 people, with thousands still missing and more than 1.6 million homeless, reports the *Washington Post*.

50,000 could be inundated

In Croatia, battles between rival Serb and Croat forces have severely damaged a major hydroelectric dam in Peruca. If it collapses 50,000 people living in the valley could be inundated. The dam, the second largest in what was once Yugoslavia, holds back an estimated 17 billion cubic feet of water in a narrow lake that stretches 12 miles. It is located 25 miles north of Split, Croatia's second largest city.

The Croatian Serb forces had placed explosives throughout the Peruca dam after seizing it in 1991. The UN troops took control of the dam last summer. In the latest outbreak of fighting, Serb forces briefly reoccupied the dam until being dislodged by artillery fire from the Croatian army.

To repair the dam, Croatian engineers will have to totally rebuild it, which could take years. As an initial measure they need to drain the entire lake, an operation that could last a month. "It's the nightmare we've been fearing since October," stated a senior UN official worried about the impending disaster.

The Croatian army attack that began Janu-

ary 22 on Serb forces inside Croatia shattered a year-long UN negotiated cease-fire. The UN Security Council has ordered Croatia to pull back from the Serb-held territories. This directive has thus far been ignored.

Russia, which has generally been sympathetic to the Serbian armed groups, strongly condemned the Croatian attack. Even Germany, one of Croatia's strongest supporters, criticized Zagreb's incursion into Serbian-held areas.

The renewed fighting has led the UN to consider withdrawing its 16,000 troops from Croatia. The UN's mandate for intervention in Croatia actually expires March 8 and could face strong opposition from the Croatian government.

During the 1991 war, Serb forces seized control of land stretching from the western border of Bosnia to the Adriatic sea, dividing the area of Croatia under Croatian government control into two separate parts — the northern part of the republic and the Dalmatian coast in the south.

U.S. military questions flight ban

Meanwhile, the debate continues in Washington on whether the U.S. military should intervene in the former Yugoslavia. The Clinton administration has termed the Balkan crisis its highest foreign policy priority and is currently reviewing a range of options including the use of U.S. ground troops and bombing.

Reflecting a reluctance to get involved in the Balkan fighting, top aides to Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,

told Congress January 29 that enforcing the ban on flights over Bosnia would make "no appreciable military difference" in halting Serbian attacks.

According to these military officials, most violations of the flight-ban involve resupply missions from Croatia to Muslims and not Serbian warplanes.

A non-binding resolution being circulated by both Senate majority leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) and Senate minority leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) calls for stronger U.S. action in the Balkans, including the use of military air power to enforce the no-fly zone over Bosnia and to require Serb forces to place their heavy weapons under international monitoring.



Members of Bosnian Serb militia

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
February 12, 1968 Price 10c

The dramatic new stage in the Vietnamese revolution signaled by the spectacular National Liberation Front offensive in the cities of South Vietnam has important implications for the antiwar movement here in the United States. The NLF offensive has dealt Washington's whole line a severe blow, exposing the truth about the war more clearly than ever before.

The (Gen. William) Westmoreland contention that the U.S. and its Saigon puppets were slowly winning the war has been blasted to shreds. The Saigon dictatorship obviously has no "secure" areas under its control, nor does it have the support of the masses of Vietnamese in either the city or the countryside. The National Liberation Front is growing stronger, with deep roots in the population. The bombings and shellings of urban civilian centers by U.S. and Saigon government troops, in frantic reaction to the NLF attacks, will only succeed in increasing the hatred of the Vietnamese for the U.S. occupying force and its Thieu-Ky puppets.

These events are intensifying antiwar sentiments where they existed already, and are awakening new layers of the population to opposition to the war.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

February 12, 1943

The Red Army's capture of Kursk is in all probability a much greater victory than Stalingrad. It is a major breach in what was the Bryansk-Orel-Kursk-Kharkov-Voroshilov-Rostov line and permits us to hope that

the continuation of the offensive may force the Nazis to abandon the entire line and fall back to the Dnieper.

We can be sure that the Soviet victories are not only shaking the strength of the Nazi forces, but are also inspiring the people of occupied Europe to free themselves from the Nazi yoke. And, as the example of Yugoslavia indicates, the European masses in freeing themselves from the Nazi yoke want real freedom and not the yoke of their former rulers.

Both the Soviet victories and their effects on the occupied countries are being estimated with mixed feelings in certain quarters. This fact is brought out by the very well informed head of the London Bureau of the *Chicago Sun*, Frederick Kuh, in a dispatch dated Feb. 4, which says:

"Polish premier Silorski is known to favor strongly the earliest possible Allied expedition into the Balkans so that American, British and Polish troops could reach Eastern or Central Europe at least as soon as the Red Army."

Certainly there are many reactionaries who do not look with unalloyed joy at the continuation of Soviet victories. On this point we recall the story reported by Walter Reuther to the last CIO convention. He had heard a discussion between two big auto executives connected with the WPB. They were rejoicing, said Reuther, "because the Nazis had pushed the Communists back on the Stalingrad front. One of them said: 'All we have to do is just give the Russians enough so they can hang on and they will destroy one another.'" Men who felt that way in October certainly are not welcoming the capture of Kursk.

We defend the workers' state, despite its degeneration under Stalin, against all forms of imperialist attack. We defended the Soviet Union when its later "friends" were howling for intervention on behalf of Finland against the USSR. We shall defend the Soviet Union when such "friends" will again unmask.



The "peace" plan put forward by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen calls for dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina into ten largely autonomous provinces. Control by either Serb, Croat, or Muslim military forces would depend on which grouping comprises the majority population in that province. Under this plan, three provinces would have Croatian majorities, three Muslim majorities, and three Serbian majorities. Province No. 5 would probably be dominated by Serb forces unless Muslims are allowed to return to their homes there. Bosnian Muslim and Serbian forces object to these boundaries. The Bosnian Croats are the only ones to have signed the agreement.

Recovery for bosses, not workers

It doesn't seem to make sense. How can there be seven quarters of economic recovery and at the same time more unemployment than in the worst month of the recession? And if the U.S. economy is in an upturn, why are some of the richest corporations laying off tens of thousands of workers?

What is happening in this upswing in the business cycle becomes clear when it is recognized that all periodic ups and downs in the economy are taking place while long-term economic development under capitalism is in an overall decline. The capitalist system itself has peaked and is on a downward curve. This changes the character of the normal rises and falls of the business cycle. There really is a recovery — but it's a recovery in a depression.

While many capitalist owners of industry may be producing and selling more goods and services today — and making more profit — what benefits them doesn't find its way to working people. In fact, in the United States, job openings, real wages, working conditions, and government-funded social programs continue to stagnate and be cut as capitalists struggle to keep their profit rates up. Eighty percent of working-class families are getting by on less than they did in 1989.

Due to the intense and ever sharpening competition between U.S. capitalists and their counterparts abroad a massive push is on for efficiency and higher productivity from workers. In the United States the bosses have been so successful in applying technological advances to production and forcing speed-up on workers that, so far, it has been a jobless recovery.

Employers in Germany, Japan, France, Sweden, Britain, Canada, and other imperialist countries are following the same policies as their U.S. counterparts, as are capitalists

in the underdeveloped world. They also are trying to produce more with fewer workers and thereby drive down the value of labor. The only way that capitalists see to remain profitable, and ahead of their competitors, is to cut their costs of production, which primarily means workers' wages.

There are now more than 17 million people unemployed or underemployed in the United States alone. That is the reality of a capitalist system in overall decline, even when it is going through a relative upturn. Ultimately the working class will have to rid itself of this system so that production can be organized to meet social needs and provide everyone with useful work.

President Clinton's pledge to funnel \$15 to \$20 billion into the economy to produce jobs is a sham. Even Labor Secretary Robert Reich says the plan has more psychological value than practical use for unemployed workers.

Rather than looking for a few crumbs from the capitalist table, and a meager payback for helping get President Clinton elected, the labor movement should organize a real fight for jobs and relief for the unemployed.

Such a campaign should include the demand for immediate compensation for all unemployed and underemployed workers, including youth who have not yet been able to break into the work force. Affirmative action programs should be expanded so that those in the working class who have been hardest hit can get jobs.

The labor movement should demand that the Clinton administration launch a massive public-works program to build and repair hospitals, schools, roads, bridges, and other needed social projects. Such a program, combined with reducing the workweek with no cut in take-home pay, would help make it a recovery for workers.

How to defend the environment

The 800,000-ton oil spill off the Shetland Islands has left a toll of innumerable dead seabirds, fish, and other marine creatures, and still threatens the livelihood of fishermen and farmers there. It has provoked debate on the causes of such environmental catastrophes and how to prevent them. Meanwhile, in another fight for health and safety, working people in the town of East Liverpool, Ohio, have scored a victory in their effort to stop a toxic waste incinerator in their community.

In response to the Shetland disaster, oil and shipping companies are campaigning against stronger safety regulations for oil tankers, arguing that spills are inevitable as long as oil continues to be shipped. Likewise, Waste Technologies Industries, owner of the Ohio incinerator, argues that protecting the environment must be traded for jobs.

Working people involved in these fights don't buy those arguments. Fishermen and farmer activists in the Shetlands do not oppose technology. They proposed a number of sensible solutions: barring tankers within 10 miles of the coast, a thorough public inquiry into the disaster, full company liability for compensation, and government-funded relief for the islanders. Tankers should also be required to be built with protective double hulls.

To the argument that environmental measures will cost jobs, the labor movement should reply: no, jobs and health are not counterposed. This is a trap set by the corporations to justify their refusal to spend the money needed to protect

the environment. The way to guarantee jobs for all is to fight for a shorter workweek without cutting pay in order to spread the available work.

Shipping companies have also tried to pin blame on the ship crews for the oil spills, especially "foreign" crews that include Filipinos and workers of other nationalities. This is simply an effort to pit working people against each other.

The cause of industrial pollution is corporate greed. The big shipowners, concerned only about their profits, rely on aging fleets to avoid spending on new ships with more advanced construction.

In the United States one thing is for sure — President Bill Clinton's administration, made up exclusively of businessmen and corporate apologists, will continue the Bush administration's policy of gutting environmental laws on behalf of the wealthy. Workers and farmers, who have the most at stake in a clean environment and livable workplace, can only depend on our own organized efforts in the fight for health and safety. This is the example being set in the struggle against the toxic waste incinerator in East Liverpool, which working people — including unionists from the surrounding region — have tenaciously waged.

To guarantee protection of the environment and the future of humanity, working people will need to replace the government of the rich with a government of workers and farmers, whose priority will be society's needs, not profits for a few.

Support the socialist campaigns

"I will join with those who are defending abortion clinics, I will be on the picket line protesting police brutality, I will be at demonstrations against the bombing of Iraq, and I will march for justice for Haitian refugees. I will encourage young people, workers, and unionists to do the same," said socialist candidate Dan Fein, announcing his campaign for Dade County Commissioner in Miami. This is the spirit of the Socialist Workers campaigns being launched around the country. The campaigns offer an opportunity for youth and workers to discuss and fight against the problems we are confronted with in capitalist society today.

The worldwide crisis of the market system is hitting workers, farmers, and young people hard. The latest economic recovery is marked by continuing layoffs for tens of thousands more. International competition is driving the imperialist rulers of Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States toward more wars and military adventures in hopes of strengthening their position in relation to their rivals. And attacks on democratic rights, from Supreme Court rulings that strengthen the death penalty to physical attacks on women's right to abortion by organizations like the Lambs of Christ, are continuing.

It was not for nothing that Bill Clinton made "sacrifice" the theme of his inauguration speech, and it is certain the new president does not expect those sacrifices to come from the bosses or from the top corporate lawyers like those in his cabinet. On the international front, Clinton is continuing the cold-blooded policy of the previous admin-

istration by turning back Haitian refugees, and has made a special point of his willingness to bomb countries like Iraq. These actions offer no way forward for the vast majority of humanity.

There is a real alternative to this course of war and economic depression for working people. Socialists have launched local election campaigns in Los Angeles, Miami, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, and many more will be announcing their candidacy in the coming weeks and months. The message of these campaigns is that workers, farmers, youth, ordinary men and women, have the capacity to come together in struggle against what is happening to us and to transform society to a system that can meet our needs. Socialist Workers candidates and their supporters will present a revolutionary road forward based on international solidarity and struggle by working people. They will join the day-to-day battles from picket lines to antiwar protests, and will be out on the streets, at factory gates, and on the campuses.

Students, trade unionists, and all other working people should take these campaigns for their own. They are meant to be a vehicle for those who are tired of the big-business Democratic and Republican programs, to begin to organize, learn, and struggle against the ravages of this system. Readers are encouraged to invite a socialist candidate to speak at your school or union, join a campaign table, help out with other activities, or just get in touch with Socialist Workers campaigners in your area for more information.

The debate on gays in the armed forces

During the election campaign, President Bill Clinton promised to lift the ban on homosexuals serving in the military. Since he took office a giant debate has opened up among those who are responsible for maintaining the capitalist system, including the top military brass, over whether or not to carry out that campaign promise. Many working people are also discussing this in factories and workplaces across the country.

Clinton recently proposed a compromise, postponing major action for half a year. But the issue will remain prominent, with Congressional hearings scheduled for the next several months. Although the military will stop questioning new recruits on their sexual preference, expulsion of gays will continue.

The issue keeps coming to the fore because there is widespread opposition among working people to discrimination against gays, while hundreds of homosexuals a year are expelled from the military. Many gays protest their exclusion, including through court cases which continue to generate bad publicity for the military's discriminatory policy.

According to Clinton, one important reason for settling this question is so that the courts don't do it first. "There is a not insignificant chance that this matter would ultimately be resolved in the courts in a way that would open admission into the military, without the opportunity to deal with this whole range of practical issues," he said at a recent press conference.

Debate is about the military

While there is significant antigay prejudice among those who advocate maintaining the ban, the debate among ruling-class spokespeople is less about bigotry toward homosexuals and more about the role and fighting capacity of the military. The U.S. army, navy, air force, and marines are an imperialist force designed to fight wars against working people who challenge the interests of U.S. corporations, or against threats to capitalist stability, in any part of the world. Military interventions like those in Iraq and Somalia are a prelude to broader wars that the U.S. rulers are preparing for.

To carry out these wars, which will not be popular among working people in or out of the military, the U.S. ruling class needs a highly disciplined force. There is not much disagreement on that question among Clinton, members of Congress, and the military chiefs. In preparing an executive order to overturn the ban on gays, Clinton promised to develop a "realistic approach consistent with the high standards of combat effectiveness and unit cohesion that our armed services must maintain."

Military officers and many members of Congress — in both the Democratic and Republican parties — argue against dropping the ban on gays because they contend it represents a threat to the fighting capacity of the military. The question they pose is whether the U.S. military can, with the same effectiveness, fight the type of wars they are planning if soldiers in the same units have the type of personal affections for one another that accompany intimate relationships. Can the same unquestioned discipline be maintained?

Strict code of conduct

President Clinton says this problem can be solved by a strict code of conduct. "Military life is fundamentally different from civilian society," he stated. "It necessarily has a different and stricter code of conduct, even a different code of justice." He promised to establish "rigorous standards" if the ban is lifted.

To make their point, opponents of lifting the ban point to the separation of men and women in the military. "There are bad reasons to exclude open homosexuals from the military. There are also good reasons having nothing to do with hate and prejudice," wrote Republican senator Dan Coats, a leading opponent of Clinton's plan.

"The military's policy on homosexuality is often compared to its old color bar," he added. "A better comparison is the natural tension between the sexes. No one would put young men and women in bunks next to each other and then try to regulate their behavior. So women are separated."

Working people should oppose all discrimination against homosexuals. Whether or not open gays in the military will weaken discipline is not our concern. Moves to limit the rights of gay people only strengthen the hand of those who would like to see the rights of all workers restricted in many aspects of everyday life.

At the same time, working people should fight for the abolition of the imperialist armed forces altogether. There is nothing progressive about the mission of the U.S. military. Its existence is a threat to the struggles of working people around the world. Our demand should be: not one penny, not one person for this war machine!

— PAUL MAILHOT

Mentally ill and homeless under capitalism

BY SARA LOBMAN

NEW YORK CITY — In the wake of the January 17 killing of an 80-year-old woman, in which the suspect is a homeless man, many workers are trying to figure out if there is a humane solution to the growing number of long-term homeless people, many mentally ill, some violent, who are currently living on the streets of this city. Most of the discussion in the news media on this question misses the most important point: these people are victims of capitalism, not only because they are poor, but because of the way this dog-eat-dog society grinds men and women up and then spits them out — generating thousands more “mentally ill” people every year.

In the most recent incident, Christopher Battiste, a homeless man who drifted in and out of city shelters, is charged

with bludgeoning Doll Johnson to death. Battiste had been living at the Franklin Avenue Armory. Originally projected to house less than 250 men, this armory is now home to more than 700. An on-the-premises mental health clinic closed in 1989 when its funding ran out.

Several of the residents of the mainly working-class community in the vicinity have said they are scared of some of the men who hang out in front of the armory. One woman, Shelby Johnson, said she knows “these men have to have some place to stay. But it makes me nervous to go past that place.” Johnson takes a long route to the bus stop each day to avoid the armory.

Who are the homeless? It's worth taking a moment to look at who the homeless are. Many argue that the homeless crisis is a simple housing problem. In fact, a recent article in the *New York Times* pointed out that many apartments in the city, even those earmarked for the homeless, remain vacant.

No solution under capitalism

Unfortunately, capitalism does not have much to offer its victims. For most of its history, governments or charities provided mental hospitals and asylums. Often these institutions, where thousands were locked away, were little better than the worst of the poorhouses and prisons combined. They offered no perspective for the future to those they took in, and they certainly had nothing in common with the sanatoriums and resorts that the wealthy with mental illnesses are sent to.

In the 1960s and '70s, a big shift took place in New York state. With the appearance of new medication that seemed effective on many mental illnesses, thousands were released from state mental hospitals. In 1953 there were 93,000 living in New York state psychiatric centers. By 1992 that figure had dropped to 12,000. It will shrink still further to about

9,700 under Gov. Mario Cuomo's new budget proposal, which is spurred by the state's financial crisis.

Instead of the advances in medicine improving the quality of life of mentally ill people, these advances are used to explain the number of mentally ill homeless who now live on the street. Not only has the state been unwilling and unable to offer these people better accommodations than the mental institutions — to date only 345 of the 1,888 units in group homes that were promised in New York City have been built — but, more importantly, nothing has changed in how society is organized that can offer people hope for a better and more meaningful life.

As the social crisis has deepened, the city and state have responded to the increase in the number of people living on the edge of society by moving to grant police and courts greater rights to confine mentally ill people to hospitals with or without their consent. In the aftermath of the January 17 killing, Cuomo's administration immediately began sending teams into homeless shelters to find and hospitalize residents they say are mentally ill and dangerous.

It is the brutal capitalist system that drives tens of thousands of working people over the edge. Capitalism forces each worker to compete with everyone else for survival. It uses everything it can — racism, sexism, language, nation of origin, whether or not you have a job — to prevent working people from standing together. Then, after it has successfully destroyed a layer of people, creating individuals who often really are dangerous to themselves and to others in the process, it offers them the choice of prison, a hospital, or the street.

Only a mass revolutionary movement to transform society can begin to break out of this framework. In the course of such a struggle, working people will fight for decent medical care and living conditions for the victims of capitalism. More importantly, wave after wave of workers and youth will begin to see themselves not as victims but as fighters, capable of creating a better world.

AS I SEE IT

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LETTERS

Capitalism's victims

Domingo Arroyo is dead. He was 21, Puerto Rican, and poor. He lived in a housing project in Elizabeth, New Jersey. He was the first American to die in Somalia. Establishment *Time* magazine said “Arroyo's death dramatized the continuing violence in Somalia.” I say Arroyo's death dramatizes the continuing violence in America. He is living proof of the truth of Article I of Representative Henry Gonzalez's Resolution of Impeachment against George Bush. Article I said that Bush violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution by “calling on the poor and the minorities to fight to preserve the lifestyles of the wealthy” while “their volunteerism is based on the coercion of a system that has denied viable opportunities to these classes of our citizens.”

Domingo Arroyo was a victim of violence long before he served in Iraq and Somalia. He joined the Marine Corps with the hope of getting himself and his mother out of the projects. Children like Domingo are victims of violence when they do not have access to health care, jobs, decent housing, and education. He needed to be loved, nurtured, encouraged, educated, valued, and protected by his society. He needed options other than the Corps. He needed a place in his society. He needed a future. What he got was a bullet in the brain.

His family tried to give meaning to his death by saying he is a hero. But he is a victim. The American capitalist ruling class preys on children. Be all that you can be. Do you have what it takes? The proud. The few. The Marines. We are looking for a few good men. The Pentagon offers a false initiation into manhood. Domingo was a poor child who died to protect the interests of the rich.

We need only remember that West Virginia, one of the poorest states in the Union, lost more children in Vietnam than any other state. Reagan and Bush have since plundered America for the rich. Between 30 and 40 million Americans now live in poverty. The poorest half of American families now own only 3 percent of the nation's wealth. And one in five American

children now shamefully live in poverty. How many of them will die to protect American business interests in Grenada, Panama, Iraq, Somalia, or other third world countries in which people try to defend themselves against American capitalism? The rich are parasites who prey on workers and the young. How many children must die before we learn that the enemy is the U.S. Fortune 500? The enemy is our own ruling class. A nonviolent society values and protects its precious children. American capitalism devours its young.

Michael James
Kettering, Ohio

Two questions

I have two questions or requests. I've been reading the *Militant* off and on for about one year. 1) Do you have any plans to send reporters to Somalia? I would be especially interested in knowing what the soldiers themselves think about what they're doing, especially the Black soldiers. 2) Could you try to cover or report more on what's happening in West Africa?

Robert McAllister
Atlanta, Georgia

Occupied Palestine

We have learned that the University of New Haven [Connecticut] plans to establish a branch campus in the illegal settlement of Elkana on Palestinian occupied territories. We feel very strongly that this plan to establish a branch campus on occupied Palestinian territory is contradictory to the principles of justice and freedom. These plans not only legitimize Israel's illegal occupation and settlement of another people's land, but work to jeopardize the American-sponsored peace process that everyone has worked hard to maintain.

Moreover, this planned program has failed to gain the backing of the new Israeli government, violates UN Security Council resolutions, contradicts the policy of your own government, supports an entity which is considered illegal in international law, and insults the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

We call on you to support our

efforts to cancel the establishment of the so-called HaSharon campus of the University of New Haven, and instead, to request that UNH invest its energies and capabilities in facilitating, not obstructing, the cause of peace and justice in our region.

Nidal Sukhtian
American-Arab Anti-Discrimination
Committee
Middle East Regional Office
Amman, Jordan

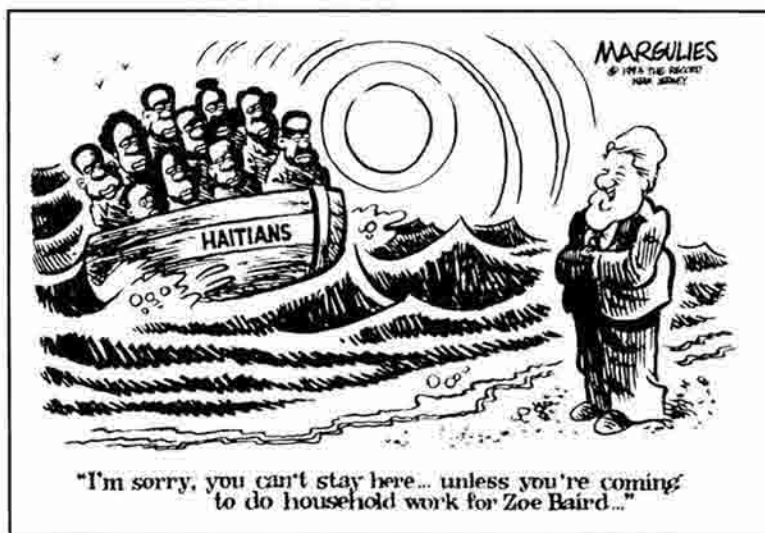
Civil rights march

A march and rally in honor of the slain civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was held on his birthday, Monday, Jan. 18th in Andrews, South Carolina, a small coastal town northwest of Charleston. According to James Johnson, international vice-president for the Coastal District of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), Monday's march and rally was the sixth annual event which was conceived and organized by activists in the union, who formed the Living the Dream Committee. The committee is now supported by a wide range of people in the coastal area, including civic and religious figures, as well as textile and garment workers who made up the majority of marchers.

The main industry in Andrews is garment and textile manufacturing, one of the largest employers being the Oneita T-shirt plant, which employs about 600 workers.

Shortly after noon about 400 marchers, many wearing shirts showing which ACTWU local they were in, gathered on a side street on the south side of the town and, led by a mule-drawn wagon, marched up the main street several blocks, turned down a street recently named for Dr. King to a monument to the late civil rights leader. The small monument has been vandalized twice, defaced with paint about a year ago, and recently the bronze relief of King on the monument plaque was struck by a large-caliber bullet. The damaged part of the monument is now being repaired.

In 1972 there was a victorious six-month strike at the Oneita plant which was led by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers



Union. The annual march and the fight to get a street named after Dr. King have been the focus of a lot of change in the town of Andrews, which is 65 percent Black.

Nelson Rivers III, the executive director of the South Carolina Council of Branches, NAACP, was the keynote speaker at the rally. Rivers began his talk by saying that Dr. King was not a dreamer but a fighter. Rivers strongly criticized President George Bush for launching the war against Iraq. Rivers also attacked the hypocrisy of newly elected President William Clinton.

Richard Rathens

Atlanta, Georgia

Church and state

I just read your editorial supporting separation of church and state. The public high school in the rural community that I live in has had a picture of Jesus Christ on its wall for 30 years. This is now being challenged in a lawsuit initiated by a student at the school who is being represented by the ACLU.

The school board's legal expenses are being partially covered by a Christian fundamentalist foundation that sees this as a good opportunity to publicize its right-wing political program which includes encouraging organized prayer in the public schools, the teaching of Christian doctrines such as creationism, etc. These attempts to erase the separation of church and state will probably accelerate as so-

ciety continues to polarize around how to respond to the crisis of the capitalist economy.

Also, concerning your article about the Shetland oil spill. Another issue raised by this event is the artificially imposed dependence of most countries on fossil fuels for energy needs. This dependence, dictated by the profit needs of the oil companies, has been a factor in other ecological disasters, air pollution, as well as the Gulf War.

Safe, clean, effective energy technologies are available that don't require transport over thousands of miles. They are not in widespread use because important issues such as energy policy are not democratically decided under capitalism.

Sandy Knoll
Bloomington, Michigan

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Philippines government hits snags in attempt to negotiate end to crisis

BY RUTH GRAY

MANILA, Philippines—Rebels in the Filipino military suspended "peace talks" with the government here January 30, only days after the negotiations began. The talks were taking place between the government's National Unification Commission (NUC) and rightist officers responsible for several coup attempts against former Philippines president Corazon Aquino.

At issue is the insistence of the military officers that Philippines president Fidel Ramos release an additional 13 rebel officers still in prison. More than 30 military rebels were released before the talks began.

The rightists have split into two factions, the Rebolusyonaryong Alyansang Makabansa (RAM), headed by former Lt. Col. Gregorio Honasan; and Kilusang Sundalong Pilipino, lead by Jose Maria Zumei.

RAM has presented proposals to the NUC calling for reforms in the government, military, elections, economy, and social justice. RAM spokesperson Edgardo Abenina called for the government to "extricate itself from the clutches of the elite and vested interests."

Zumei's faction has submitted eight proposals to the government including demands for the "unconditional return of the Marcos remains and the halt to the prosecution of his widow, Imelda." According to the *Philippines Daily Inquirer*, it was the Marcos issue that split the rightists.

Initiated by President Fidel Ramos following his election last June, the peace talks are aimed at stabilizing the country. Ramos has offered to talk with all "dissident" groups. The government seeks to talk not only with the rightists in the military, but



Philippines president Fidel Ramos hopes to use negotiations to end social tensions in his country to better attract foreign investment. Meanwhile, millions of workers live in slums like these in Manila.

with the National Democratic Front (NDF), the New People's Army (NPA), and the Moro National Liberation Front.

Ramos is pressing hard on these negotiations as a backup to his efforts to attract the foreign investment needed to advance the government's industrialization plans.

In an interview with *Asiaweek* magazine, Ramos confidently asserts that there will be no coup attempts during his presidential term, and adds, "the extreme left, the ex-

treme right and the secessionists have very much less capability for damage now compared with six months ago. . . . The most important factor is the loss of mass support and credibility."

Talks between the government and the National Democratic Front are stalled because of a dispute over venue. The NDF is calling for the talks to be held in a foreign country and for representatives of an international body like the United Nations to be present as ob-

servers. The government is insisting that the talks be held in the Philippines.

The government recently repealed a 37-year-old antisubversion law that outlawed the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). Nevertheless, exiled CPP leader Jose Ma Sison and NDF representative Luis Jalandoni declared that the conditions that spawned the insurgency still exist.

Sison claimed that Ramos is sponsoring a group of former CPP leaders in an attempt to undermine the CPP and other organizations it is involved in, such as the NDF.

Former CPP secretary-general Ricardo Reyes — accused by Sison of being part of Ramos's plot — said "unlike Sison, I do not claim a personal franchise over the CPP and the NDF." Reyes also said he was not interested in forming a legal communist party, but that Sison had no right to prevent him from forming a legal organization "that will seek genuine democracy."

In a new development, New People's Army commanders at regional and provincial levels are favoring local peace talks, according to claims by Armed Forces Civil Relations officers. They say that only in Southern Tagalog and Surigao provinces do NPA leaders continue to insist on talks at the national level. The NDF pointed out that local peace talks were "meant to divide the ranks of the communist insurgents."

The Catholic church hierarchy has joined the debate on the negotiations, saying that in order to achieve peace the government has to address the problems of poverty, injustice, inequitable distribution of wealth, and corruption.

Philadelphia oil workers fight for union contract

BY KATHY MICKELLS

PHILADELPHIA — "Corporate Greed — Creative Accounting Cause Manpower Cutbacks" and "We want our refinery to be your safe backyard!" were some of the banners that greeted Chevron's negotiators at their Philadelphia refinery here January 14. Some 150 Chevron union workers rallied at the plant gates on that day. This rally followed a similar demonstration January 7 where 170 of the 430-person work force participated. "We just want to let management know, we got solidarity and we're behind our negotiating committee," explained one worker.

These rallies are a regular feature of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union organizing and recognition drive at this refinery. After winning a certification vote by a 2-1 margin September 11, the Chevron workers continue to mobilize to fight for a contract.

Since 1981, four organizing attempts at this refinery have failed. This time the workers were successful because "Chevron management touched everyone. We lost seniority rights and there was a lot of mistreatment of workers," explained Ronnie Westenberg, one of the workers who approached the OCAW about organizing the refinery.

Workers put out a newsletter called *One Voice* to counter the company's campaign against a union. During the organizing drive, the newsletter carried dozens of letters from workers inside the refinery explaining why they needed a union and what was taking place in different areas of the plant. Letters from wives, supporters, and other OCAW members were also printed.

"We got people involved and got their attention with the *One Voice* newsletter. The first time we put it out people thought we were crazy for putting our names down, but we encouraged others to do the same. I had never done anything like that before, standing out in front of the gate giving out

the newsletter," explained Jim Akins. "There were six or so of us at first. People had to overcome their fear of repercussions from the company, but we just kept it up. There were 6, then 20, then 100; the enthusiasm built up, they weren't afraid anymore. They knew that we had to take a chance if we were to get a decent book of rules."

Westenberg and Akins are members of the newly elected negotiating committee. The Chevron workers are a unit of OCAW Local 8-234.

Refusing to accept defeat, the company appealed the election results to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). On the day they filed charges with the NLRB, 100 workers demonstrated at the plant gate. The company's attempts to overturn the election results convinced many more workers that the only way to get respect and dignity on the job was by supporting the union.

"Some workers who voted against the union not only became supporters of the union, but activists in the fight," said Denis Stephano, president of OCAW Local 8-234. "They were outraged. The company objections were unwarranted. And they wanted to do everything they could do to get the objections withdrawn, including testifying on the union's behalf."

Using the newsletter, workers organized a campaign to show rank-and-file solidarity. "When the boss asks you 'How are you?' tell them 'We want a contract,'" encouraged the newsletter.

The company eventually caved in under the pressure and withdrew its objections. Since withdrawing the appeals, the company has been stonewalling on negotiating a contract. Chevron continues attempts to undercut support for the union and put into place new policies. But each company move has been met with an organized response, from in-plant campaigns, to leaflets, to plant-gate rallies.

In October, union members decided to establish a Committee for a Fair Contract. More than 70 workers signed up and the committee meets weekly. "Everyone is welcome to come down to the union hall for the meetings to bring up points for the negotiating committee; anything in particular that's happening at the refinery that they want to raise; what they think we should be doing to respond to the company's latest attacks," explained Akins.

"We decided to have stewards for every shift and every unit. They meet once a month and then we have general union meetings once a month. We use all the meetings and the plant-gate distribution of *One Voice* to keep everyone informed and involved."

Most actions are proposed, discussed, and voted on at the different meetings. Re-

cently, management decided to change how workers picked their vacations. A limited number of workers are allowed off on vacation time on any given week and the company cut down this number even further. "We discussed it at the meetings. We decided to tell the company they were in violation of labor law, and people said in the meantime, 'nobody picks,'" explained Akins.

"People stuck together and it paid off. The company relented; we took the company's proposal back to the people and decided what to do. While we didn't get everything we wanted around picking vacations, the company found it couldn't just implement its new policies."

Kathy Mickells is a member of OCAW Local 8-901 at the Sun Oil Marcus Hook Refinery.

'Militant' organizes reporting trips to the Philippines, France, and Cuba

BY SARA LOBMAN

Recent issues of the *Militant* have benefited from several international reporting trips. An article, above, by Ruth Gray reports on a trip to the Philippines. Gray, who is from New Zealand, along with Estelle DeBates from New York and Robert Kopec from Los Angeles, spent 10 days in the Philippines as guests of the League of Filipino Students.

Argiris Malapanis, a *Militant* staff writer, just returned from Cuba. Malapanis was in Cuba as part of a brigade of young people from the United States and Canada. Malapanis will write about the trip in future issues of the *Militant*.

Malapanis then joined auto worker Greg Rosenberg, from St. Paul, Minnesota, in Paris, France, to participate in the confer-

ence of the Movement of Young Communists of France January 28-31. They will stay in Paris for a General Council meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth following the conference, and report on these events.

Financial contributions are urgently needed to cover the cost of these reporting trips. *Militant* supporters in New Zealand raised \$300 to cover the cost of a reporting trip to India. Felicity Coggan, who joined Greg Rosenberg at the Asian Students Association conference in New Delhi, India, late last year, will be speaking about events in India at meetings in Auckland; Wellington; and Christchurch, New Zealand.

Contributions can be sent to the *Militant* Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.